

IDEOLOGICAL APPARATUSES OF THE (FANTASTIC) STATE:
REPRESSIVE AND NON-REPRESSIVE STATE APPARATUSES
IN THE 20TH CENTURY DYSTOPIAN NOVELS

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Ideological Apparatuses of the (Fantastic) State:
Repressive and Non-repressive State Apparatuses in the 20th
Century Dystopian Novels

(Fantastik) Devletin deolojik Aygıtları:
20.Yüzyıl Distopik Romanlarında Baskıcı ve Baskıcı Olmayan
Devlet Aygıtları

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- 1)Dystopia
- 2)State
- 3)Power
- 4)Ideology
- 5)Individual

Özet

Bu tezde dört 20.yüzyıl distopik romanında (*Biz, Bin Dokuz Yüz Seksen Dört, Cesur Yeni Dünya ve Fahrenheit 451*) baskıcı ve baskıcı olmayan devlet aygıtlarının işleyişini Louis Althusser ve Michel Foucault'nun kuramları ışığında incelenmiştir.

Birinci bölümde Althusser ve Foucault'nun kuramları çalışılmıştır. İkinci bölümde insanları denetim altında tutma mekanizmaları, üçüncü bölümde ise cezalandırma yöntemleri sorgulanmıştır. Dördüncü bölümde cinselliğin hem bireylerin yaşamlarını hem de tüm toplumu yönetmek için nasıl kullanıldığını gösterilmeye çalışılmıştır. Beinci bölümde insanların zihinlerinin ideolojik aygıtlarla nasıl oluşturulduğunu ve manipüle edildiğini ve son bölümde de bütün bireyselliklerin tüm baskıcı ve baskıcı olmayan devlet aygıtlarıyla nasıl baskı altında tutulduğunu gösterilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Abstract

In this work the functioning of the repressive and non-repressive state apparatuses in four 20th century dystopian novels (*We*, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, *Brave New World* and *Fahrenheit 451*) is examined in the light of Louis Althusser's and Michel Foucault's theories.

Thus, in the first chapter theories of Althusser and Foucault are studied. In the second chapter the mechanisms that are used to keep people under control and in the third chapter the methods of punishments are investigated. In the fourth chapter it is tried to be shown how sexuality is deployed to administer both the lives of individuals and the entire population. In the fifth chapter how people's minds are formed and manipulated by ideological apparatuses is examined and lastly in the sixth chapter how all individuality is suppressed by all repressive and non-repressive state apparatuses is shown.

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Introduction

In this work we'll try to examine the ideological apparatuses of the fantastic state by focusing on the repressive and non-repressive state apparatuses of the 20th century dystopian novels *We*, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, *Brave New World* and *Fahrenheit 451*.

Dystopia, formed by the combination of two Greek words, the prefix *dys* signifying ill, bad or abnormal and *topos* meaning place, literally means bad place. Darko Suvin's definition of dystopia is quite similar to it, a community where sociopolitical institutions, norms, and relationships between its individuals are organized in a significantly less perfect way than in the author's community.¹ From that point of view, dystopias can be considered as satires which have as their target the socio-political and economical conditions of a certain community and which literalize the metaphor of that less perfect society.

As a literary genre, dystopia emerges in the early 1900's, when the results of the Industrial Revolution began to be felt and when the modern capitalist state apparatus extended its field of effect. It is the results of these developments that are criticized in dystopias: the emergence of the totalitarian states, planned

¹ Tom Moylan, *Scraps of the Untainted Sky; Science Fiction, Utopia, Dystopia*, Colorado, Westview Press, 2000, p.136

economies and solid bureaucracies; namely the regimes of Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini and Roosevelt. The four dystopian novels we'll examine are written with that motive. These books, written in the first half of the 20th century, in a period that has witnessed several totalitarian regimes, two world wars and big economic crisis', with a quite pessimistic view, depict totalitarian states where freedom is eliminated, people are under constant surveillance and control, all reality is formed and controlled by the state and all individuality is suppressed.

20th century philosophers Louis Althusser and Michel Foucault have developed theories about the functioning of the modern state and its effects on the individual. They both stressed the importance of the non-repressive state apparatuses, that a state did not have to be necessarily repressive yet on the contrary. Althusser claimed that a state always needed non-repressive state apparatuses, what he calls Ideological State Apparatuses, to turn individuals into subjects acting in conformity with the existing system and hence maintain the continuity of the system. As for Foucault, he also mentioned the importance of controlling and administering both the bodies and minds of individuals, constituting individuals as subjects by what he calls the bio-power.

Thus, in this work, by the help of theories of Althusser and Foucault, we will try find answers to questions as Are all powers necessarily repressive? and Is it sufficient for a power to exercise repression to maintain its continuity? and examine the power structures of four dystopian novels in the light of these theories. So, first, we will study theories of Althusser and Foucault on the functioning of modern power. Then beginning from the second chapter we will try to examine the functioning of power in our four dystopian novels. In the second chapter we will study the control mechanisms and in the third the

punishment methods used on individuals which can be considered as parts of the repressive state apparatus. Then, in the fourth chapter we will have a look at how sexuality is deployed as a means of administering people's lives. In the fifth chapter we will investigate the functioning of ideological state apparatuses and the mind controlling methods, and lastly in the sixth chapter see how individuality is suppressed and individuals are turned into mere subjects by power.

CHAPTER I

Power, Coercion and Ideology

I.1. Althusser: “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses”

As Marx said, every child knows that a social formation which did not reproduce the conditions of production at the same time as it produced would not last a year.² Althusser begins his analyses on ideological state apparatuses with this sentence, by stressing the importance of the reproduction of the conditions of production.

According to Althusser, the reproduction of the conditions of production can be realized by the reproduction of, the productive forces and the existing relations of production.³ The reproduction of the productive forces includes both the reproduction of the means of production and that of the labor power. The reproduction of the means of production is more about the material side of the production process and consists of replacing the raw material, machines, buildings that are used for production. And, the reproduction of the labor power

² Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays*, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1971, p.127

³ *Ibid.*, p.128

is ensured by wages, which enables the workers to maintain their lives. However, according to Althusser, it is not enough to ensure for labor power the material conditions of its reproduction if it is to be reproduced as labor power.⁴ Althusser claims that this is achieved especially by the help of the capitalist education system. At school, besides know-how, children learn also the rules of good behavior, the rules of morality, civic and professional conscience, in other words the rules of respect for the socio-technical division of labor and ultimately the rules of the order established by class domination.⁵ So, it is possible to say that the reproduction of labor power requires also the reproduction of its submission to the rules of the established order. Then, for Althusser, the school (but also other State institutions like the Church, or other apparatuses like the Army) teaches know-how, but in forms which ensure *subjection to the ruling ideology* or the mastery of its practice.⁶

After having briefly explained how the reproduction of the productive forces takes place now we can have a look at how the reproduction of the existing relations of production realize. But to be able to analyze that first we have to observe how Althusser defines the State and then the ideological state apparatuses which play an important role in the reproduction of the existing relations of production.

Althusser, though he adopts the Marxist theory of the State, proposes certain extensions to the theory. In accordance with the Marxist theory of state, Althusser affirms that the State is the repressive State apparatus and that State

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.131

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.132

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.132-133

power and State apparatus must be distinguished. However, he argues that we must distinguish not only between State power and State apparatus (SA from now on) but also between two types of State Apparatuses such as the (Repressive) State Apparatus which includes the Government, the Administration, the Army, the Police, the Courts, the Prisons etc. and the Ideological State apparatuses (ISAs from now on) which contains: the religious ISAs (the system of the different Churches), the educational ISAs (the system of the different public and private Schools'), the family ISA, the legal ISA, the political ISA, (the political system, including the different Parties), the trade-union ISA, the communications ISA (press, radio and television, etc.), the cultural ISA (Literature, the Arts, sports, etc.)⁷

Above, we have enumerated the institutions that make part of SA and the ISAs. But what are the differences between these two? Althusser claims that, first of all, there is only one (Repressive) State Apparatus but a *plurality* of Ideological State Apparatuses. Secondly, SA belongs entirely to the public domain, and a great part of ISAs to the private domain. But the basic difference which distinguishes the ISAs from (Repressive) State Apparatus is the fact that the Repressive State Apparatus functions 'by violence', whereas the Ideological State Apparatuses 'function by ideology'.⁸ However, though Althusser adds that, every SA, whether Repressive or Ideological, functions 'both by violence and by ideology'⁹ he also shows us the way for not to confuse one with the other. It is that Repressive State Apparatus functions massively and predominantly by

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.143

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.145

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.145

repression, (...) while functioning secondarily by ideology .¹⁰ He gives as example the functioning of the Army and the Police which function also by ideology both to ensure their own cohesion and reproduction.¹¹ As for ISAs, inversely, they function massively and predominantly by *ideology*, but they also function secondarily by repression .¹² Schools and Churches can be taken as examples of these since they use sometimes methods of punishment, expulsion etc., to discipline ‘not only their shepherds, but also their flocks’ .¹³

Meanwhile, it must be mentioned that the (Repressive) State Apparatus and ISAs are related to each other and the ISAs can be considered as unified because they all function by the ideology of the ruling class. As the ruling class holds State power and therefore the (Repressive) State Apparatus, it is possible to say that the ruling class is effective on ISAs, since these latter function up to the ruling ideology . Furthermore, it appears that *no class can hold State power over*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.145

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.145

¹² *Ibid.*, p.145

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.145

*a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony*¹⁴ *over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses* .¹⁵

After having explained the State and its Repressive and Ideological Apparatuses now we can undertake the reproduction of the relations of production. Althusser tells that this reproduction is secured by the exercise of State power in the State Apparatuses .¹⁶ Repressive State apparatus secures by force not only the political conditions of the reproduction of relations of production – relations of exploitation – but also the political conditions for the action of the Ideological State Apparatuses. And as a conclusion, Althusser affirms that, in fact, these are ISAs which secure the reproduction of the relations of production under the protection of the repressive SA.

According to Althusser, the dominant ISA of the bourgeoisie is the educational apparatus which has replaced the previously dominant ISA, the Church. He argues that the school takes the children at infant-school age, when they are 'vulnerable' and 'it drums into them, (...) a certain amount of know-how ' wrapped in the ruling ideology (...) or simply the ruling ideology in its pure

¹⁴ The concept of hegemony recalls us the theories of Gramsci. According to Gramsci, every State is an ethical, a cultural State and that brings with it its imposing of certain cultural and moral norms to people. These norms serve to meet the needs of productive forces and hence the interests of the ruling classes. Gramsci affirms that the ruling class can not survive without persuading the other classes to accept its own political, cultural and moral norms/values and this is exactly what Gramsci calls hegemony . Up to him , the achievement and maintenance of hegemony is a matter of education and he asserts that every relationship of hegemony is necessarily a pedagogic relationship . However, it must be mentioned that the State establishes its hegemony not only by its educative but also by its political and juridical activities. In other words, if education can be considered as an ideological and the jurisdiction as a repressive activity, Gramsci, like Althusser, believes that the State, and the ruling class administers the society with both its repressive (the courts) and ideological apparatuses.

¹⁵ Althusser, p.146

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.148

state .¹⁷ Individuals who leave the educational system at some juncture (the laborers who leave the system early, the petty bourgeois who goes somewhat further, and the ones who complete further specialist training) are provided with the ideology necessary for the reproduction of the current system. Of course there are also other ISAs that serve the same purpose but it is possible to say that the educational ISA is the most effective one since no other ideological State apparatus has the obligatory (and not least, free) audience of the totality of the children in the capitalist social formation, eight hours a day for five or six days out of seven .¹⁸ Moreover, the school is perceived as a natural , or in other words neutral and even a beneficial institution just like once the Church was and this fact reinforces it.

Althusser explains his notion of ideology based on two theses: Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence and Ideology has a material existence .

To begin with the first thesis, Althusser rejects Marxist conception of ideology as false consciousness , a false understanding of the real world. Althusser explains that for Marx Ideology is (..) thought as an imaginary construction whose status is exactly like the theoretical status of the dream among writers before Freud. For those writers, the dream was the purely imaginary, i.e. null, result of the day's residues' ¹⁹ However, Althusser claims that it is impossible for men to access to their real conditions of existence. Althusser argues that in ideology it is not their real conditions of existence, their

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.155

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.156

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.159

real world, that men 'represent to themselves' in ideology, but above all it is their relation to those conditions of existence which is represented to them there.²⁰ And for Althusser, it is the *imaginary nature of this relation* which underlies all the imaginary distortion that we can observe in all ideology.²¹

As for the second thesis, that ideology has a material existence, it means that an ideology always exists in an apparatus, and its practice, or practices.²² According to that thesis, ISAs and their practices can be seen as the realization of an ideology, the material form of ideology. Moreover, individuals, living in ideology, under the influence of ISAs, behave in the way the ideological apparatus imposes them; and this is the second material form of ideology. To put it in Althusser's words: where only a single subject is concerned, the existence of the ideas of his belief is material in that *his ideas are his material actions inserted into material practices governed by material rituals which are themselves defined by the material ideological apparatus from which derive the ideas of that subject*.²³

From all the ideas above Althusser passes to the central term on which, up to him, everything else depends: the notion of the *subject*. To be able to explain the subject-ideology relationship, he sets down two conjoint theses that are: there is no practice except by and in an ideology and there is no ideology except by the subject and for subjects.²⁴

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.164

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.164

²² *Ibid.*, p.166

²³ *Ibid.*, p.169

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.170

According to Althusser, ideology is only made possible by the subject and the main function of all ideology is to *constitute* concrete individuals as subjects.²⁵ Althusser claims that, ideology does that by *interpellation* and gives the example of being hailed in the street. He says that when someone hears the words 'Hey, you there' in the street and turns around, he becomes a subject because he recognizes that the hail is addressed to him. According to Althusser this recognition is a mis-recognition. Subject in fact has a double meaning such as, a free subjectivity, a centre of initiatives, author of and responsible for its actions; and a subjected being, who submits to a higher authority, and is therefore stripped of all freedom except that of freely accepting his submission.²⁶ Although it looks like there is an ambiguity in that proposition, Althusser explains and surpasses that ambiguity with the help of the example above. As can be seen there, the individual is interpellated as a (free) subject in order that he shall (freely) accept his subjection...in order that he shall make the gestures and actions of his subjection all by himself.' In other words, for Althusser, There are no subjects except by and for their subjection.²⁷

The important thing here is that, individuals do not perceive this process, that they are turned into ideological subjects. According to Althusser this is due to the practical *denegation* of the ideological character of ideology by ideology: ideology never says, 'I am ideological'.²⁸ Althusser adds that, to be able to say

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.171

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.182

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.182

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.175

Imm in ideology is only possible by being outside ideology, that is to say in scientific knowledge.

Lastly, what is to be mentioned is that, for Althusser, individuals are always-already subjects.²⁹ Even before his birth, the child is already a subject since he is born into a certain family and a certain identity.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.175

I.2. Foucault and Modern Power

Power concerned, Foucault opposes to the negative perception of power and reconceptualizes it. According to Foucault, many theorists consider power in a negative manner and see it as a source of repression in the service of a special class. Foucault rejects this negative, repressive notion of power and replaces it with a concept of power as an essentially *positive* force which permeates all levels of society, engendering a multiplicity of relations other than those simply of domination³⁰:

It seems to me that power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; as the processes which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly as strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies.³¹

As can be understood from above, Foucault does not see power as something in the monopoly of the State and exercised by it because he thinks that [t]o pose the problem in terms of the State means to continue posing it in terms

³⁰ Lois McNay, *Foucault: A Critical Introduction*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2003, p.90

³¹ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1998, pp.92-93

of sovereign and sovereignty, that is to say in terms of law.³² However, this is what he is against basically; the negative perception of power. If one describes all these phenomena of power as dependant on the State apparatus, this means grasping them as essentially as repressive: the Army as a power of death, police and justice as punitive instances, etc.³³ Foucault does not deny the State, but he asserts that the relations of power and their analyses extend beyond the limits of the State.³⁴ He explains this as such:

[T]he State, for all the omnipotence of its apparatuses, is far from being able to occupy the whole field of actual power relations, and further because the State can only operate on the basis of other, already existing power relations. The State is superstructural in relation to a whole series of power networks that invest the body, sexuality, the family, kinship, knowledge, technology and so forth. True, these networks stand in a conditioning-conditioned relationship to a kind of meta-power which is structured essentially round a certain number of great prohibition functions; but this meta-power with its prohibitions can only take hold and secure its footing where it is rooted in a whole series of multiple and indefinite power relations that supply the necessary basis for the great negative forms of power.³⁵

According to Foucault, Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere.³⁶ And considering the mechanisms of power he thinks rather of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies

³² *Ibid.*, p.122

³³ *Ibid.*, p.122

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.122

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.122

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.93

and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives .³⁷

The statement above is in fact like the definition of the type of power which is in operation since the eighteenth century; the bio-power as Foucault calls it. Now, let us have a look at the history of it.

Foucault in his article *Subject and Power*³⁸ tells that since the sixteenth century a new political form of power is continuously developing. This new form of power is the State. According to Foucault, the State has both an individualizing and a totalizing power and due to that it has adopted a power technique called *pastoral power*.³⁹ The concept of Pastoral power, which depends on shepherd-flock relationship metaphor, and which has its origins in ancient Oriental societies like Egypt, Assyria, Judea, had been very influential first on Christian thought and institutions.⁴⁰ Foucault says that Christianity is the only religion which has organized itself as a Church⁴¹ and in that institution certain individuals, by their religious quality, serve others as pastors. If we have a look at the characteristics of pastoral power we see that, it aims to assure the salvation of individuals in the next world; it does not only command but also is prepared to sacrifice itself for the life and salvation of the flock; it does not look after just the whole community, but each individual in particular; and finally, it

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.39

³⁸ Michel Foucault, *The Subject and Power*, in Kate Nash, *Readings in Contemporary Political Sociology*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 2000, p.8

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.13

⁴⁰ Michel Foucault, *Omnes et Singulatim: Towards a Criticism of Political Reason*, The Tanner Lectures on Human Values, delivered at Stanford University, October 10 and 16, 1979, <http://www.foucault.info/documents/foucault.omnesEtSingulatim.en.html>

⁴¹ Foucault, *The Subject and Power*, p.14

cannot be exercised without knowing the inside of people's minds, without exploring their souls, without making them reveal their innermost secrets.⁴² For Foucault, by the eighteenth century, pastoral power lost its vitality as an institution but its function has spread over.

Eighteenth century has witnessed also an important development; the birth of the modern state. Foucault considers this new state as a new form of pastoral power but with some changes in it. This new form of pastoral power aims not anymore the salvation of people in the next world, but rather, aims to assure it in this world. Due to that, the word salvation loses its religious significance and takes on meanings like health, well-being, security or protection against incidents. In addition, the officials of pastoral power increases; sometimes this power is exercised by the state apparatus or by some public institution like the police. And the final and the most important characteristic of this new power is that the multiplication of the aims and agents of pastoral power focused the development of knowledge of man around two poles: one (...) concerning the population; the other (...) concerning the individual.⁴³

The fact that the knowledge of man is focused around the individual and the population is the most important change in the structure of the pastoral power, because it means the emergence of a new kind of power which Foucault names the Bio-power.

Bio-power is positioned around life and aims to control the body and the lives of individuals. According to Foucault, it is exerted in two ways: by

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.14

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.15

disciplines: an anatomo-politics of the human body and by *regulatory controls: a bio-politics of the population* ⁴⁴ The target of the *anatomo-politics of the human body* is individuals and their bodies. It considers the body as a machine and by methods of discipline it aims and realizes its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls. ⁴⁵ On the other hand, the *bio-politics of the population* focuses on the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary. ⁴⁶ However, it is possible to say that both have the same purpose: to govern ⁴⁷ individuals and so, the labor power.

These two techniques of power are joined in the form of concrete arrangements (*agencement concrets*), in other words dispositifs, ⁴⁸ that would make up the great technology of power in the nineteenth century. The deployment of sexuality, which we will examine later, will be one of the most important.

⁴⁴ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*. p.139

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.139

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.139

⁴⁷ For Foucault Government did not refer only to political structures or the management of states; rather it designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick. It did not only cover the legitimately constituted forms of political or economic subjection, but also modes of action, more or less considered and calculated, which were destined to act upon the possibilities of action of other people. To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others. Foucault, *The Subject and Power*, p.21

⁴⁸ They can be defined as the ensemble of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, moral, philosophical, philanthropic propositions.

The bio-power, which aimed to optimize the capabilities of the body, to increase its economic utility and to ensure its political docility, was without question an indispensable element in the development of capitalism; the latter would not have been possible without the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes .⁴⁹

The development of bio-power had two important consequences. First, with it, the human body and life entered into the order of knowledge and power, into the sphere of political techniques .⁵⁰ And the second is the growing importance assumed by the action of the norm, at the expense of the juridical system of the law .⁵¹ This does not mean that the institutions of justice disappear, but rather that law operates more and more as a norm , and that the judicial institution is increasingly incorporated into a continuum of apparatuses (medical, administrative, and so on) whose functions are the most part regulatory .⁵² This relationship between law and norm can be read as the relationship between the repressive and the ideological. It shows that the modern power operates not always through repressive apparatuses but more with norms based on knowledge, up to which individuals act and regulate their behavior. Hence it can be said that [a] normalizing society is the historical outcome of a technology of power centered on life .⁵³

⁴⁹ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, pp.140-141

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.142

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.144

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.144

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.144

I.2.1 The (Re)production of Sexuality

For Foucault the political significance of the problem of sex is due to the fact that sex is located at the point of intersection of the discipline of the body and the control of population⁵⁴; In other words at the pivot of the two axes along which developed the entire political technology of life.⁵⁵

Concerning the matter of sexuality, as opposed to many theorists, Foucault says that power operates not through the repression of sex, but through the discursive production of sexuality and subjects.⁵⁶ Indeed, according to Foucault, the seventeenth century was an age of repression of sex but since that time the discourses on it increased steadily. With the eighteenth century there emerged a political, economic, and technical incitement to talk about sex. And not so much in the form of a general theory of sexuality as in the form of analysis, stocktaking, classification, and specification, of quantitative or causal studies.⁵⁷

From that point sex was not simply an object of judgment but of administration and government. Foucault asserts that in the eighteenth century sex became a police matter and in the full and strict sense given the term at the

⁵⁴ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. By Colin Gordon, New York, Pantheon Books, 1980, p.125

⁵⁵ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, p.145

⁵⁶ For Foucault, the relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association. We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power through the production of truth. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, p.93

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.23-24

time: not the repression of disorder, but an ordered maximization of collective and individual forces.⁵⁸ The policing of sex brought with it the regulation of sex through useful discourses.

One of the important developments of eighteenth century is that population began to be seen as an economic and political problem. As Foucault claims, governments understood that they do not have to deal with only simple subjects or a people, but with a population with characteristics of its own. And at the center of this economic and political problem of population was sex:

[I]t was necessary to analyze birthrate, the age of marriage, the legitimate and illegitimate births, the precocity and frequency of sexual relations, the ways of making them fertile or sterile, the effects of unmarried life or of the prohibitions, the impact of contraceptive practices.⁵⁹

In the nineteenth century sexuality is tried to be constituted in scientific terms. Then, in Western societies there developed a *scientia sexualis*. According to that theory, the truth of individuals resided in their sexuality and sexuality is regarded as the secret essence of individual.⁶⁰ And then, the aim of science or medicine should be to reveal that truth. However, Foucault claims that the body has no inherent truth, but truths are constructed by the agents of bio-power: [A]nd, so, in this question of sex (...) two processes emerge (...) we demand that sex speaks the truth (...) and we demand that it tells us our truth.⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.24-25

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.25-26

⁶⁰ McNay, *Foucault: A Critical Introduction*, p.96

⁶¹ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, p.10

In other words, the objective of *scientia sexualis* was to produce true discourses about sex, the truth of sex, using the method of confession. And the technology of confession referred to, all those procedures by which the subject is incited to produce a discourse of truth about his sexuality which is capable of having effects on the subject himself.⁶² Furthermore, during the nineteenth century confession is also used in other fields of life such as educational, medical, legal, psychiatric procedures and people are asked to reveal their innermost feelings before authorities who have the power to judge, punish, forgive, console and reconcile.⁶³

Concerning all we have said above, then, it is possible to say that in the nineteenth century, control is assured not through direct repression, but through strategies of normalization. Individuals consider the constructed truths as real, internalize them and regulate themselves according to them. This is also the example of individuals' turning into subjects which we will talk about later.

Above, we have mentioned that the sex was located at the point of intersection of the discipline of the body and the control of population which are the two strategies of bio-power. Then, let us examine how sexuality is deployed by bio-power as a means of administering individuals and the population. In the nineteenth century there have developed four strategic unities which formed specific mechanisms of knowledge-power centering on sex. These are, first a hysterization of women's bodies, the actor of which the hysterical woman was and which was based on the assumption that the female body was thoroughly

⁶² Barry Smart, *Key Sociologists: Michel Foucault*, London, Routledge, 1995, p.96

⁶³ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, pp.61-62

saturated with sexuality . Second there is a pedagogization of children 's sex , the masturbating child being its figure, and where it is asserted that all children are prone to indulge in sexual activity and that this sexual activity posed physical and moral, individual and collective dangers . Thus, parents, families, educators, doctors, psychologists are invited to take charge of it. Third, we have a socialization of procreative behavior figure of which is the Malthusian couple and which legitimates the heterosexual couple as the norm for reproduction. And finally, there is a psychiatrization of perverse behavior , having the perverse adult as its actor and by the help of which sexual irregularity is pathologized.

According to Foucault what was at issue in these strategies was the very production of sexuality .⁶⁴ Thus, Foucault claims that sexuality is a historical construct,

[N]ot a furtive reality that is difficult to grasp, but a great surface network in which the stimulation of bodies, the intensification of pleasures, the incitement to discourse, the formation of special knowledges, the strengthening of controls and resistances, are linked to one another, in accordance with a few major strategies of knowledge and power.⁶⁵

In other words, sexuality is a historical construct, produced in order to administer both individuals and populations, to render them useful for the modern state and capitalism.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.105

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.105-106

To make a last remark, all we have told above is at the same time an example of how human beings turn themselves into subjects; sexuality concerned, individuals recognize themselves as subjects of sexuality .

For Foucault, power functions by constituting individuals as subjects. The word subject has two meanings: subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge .⁶⁶ As can be understood from the two senses of the concept of subject, Foucault claims that the subjectification of individuals is assured in two phases. First is that, the power subjectifies individuals by putting norms based on knowledge and evaluating and judging their behaviors. And secondly, individual, after having regarded the norms and then his own behavior, begins to act, limit his behaviors according to those norms and he becomes the subject of his own experience. And just then the subjectification is complete, when the individual accepts the norms, limits, as if they were his own decisions and restrains himself. So, it is possible to say that, though subjectification is realized in mind/consciousness, its aim is to control the body and the acts.

Subjectification concerned, Althusser claims that it is possible to become aware of the ideology by being in scientific knowledge, but for Foucault, scientific knowledge itself is a dispositif through which subjectification of individuals is realized.

⁶⁶ Foucault, *The Subject and Power* , p.12

I.2.2. The Panopticon

Foucault, in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*⁶⁷ explains how penal systems evolved since the eighteenth century and the social and theoretical mechanisms behind those changes.

Foucault begins his book with the description of the public torture of Robert-François Damiens.⁶⁸ According to Foucault, this penalty is a good example of monarchical law. Foucault argues that in monarchical law, punishment is a ceremonial of sovereignty⁶⁹. In monarchical law, it is believed that every crime is a violation of the sovereign's will, is oriented towards the body of the monarch. So, the motive behind the public execution is to take vengeance on the body of the condemned and reconstitute the body of the monarch and assure his sovereignty. There, every punishment of a certain seriousness had to involve an element of torture⁷⁰ and, this also served to produce an effect of terror on spectators. However, Foucault argues that, public execution was an ineffective use of the body.⁷¹ Also, sometimes, the body of the condemned became a locus of sympathy and there had occurred riots in favor of

⁶⁷ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, London, Penguin Books, 1991

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.3

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.130

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.33

⁷¹ As said above, monarchical law and public executions implied the torturing and putting to death of the condemned. However, Foucault claims that capitalism needed the labour power and thus the bodies of individuals. Since capitalism would not have been possible without the labour power, it brought with it the bio-power, and [t]he old power of death that symbolized sovereign power was now carefully supplanted by the administration of bodies and the calculated management of life. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, pp.139-140

the prisoner. So, its political cost was too high and it did not conform to the concerns of the modern state. Reformists, argues Foucault, were unhappy with the excessive violence of that penal system and a new penal system was put in place. Also in that system, criminals were punished publicly, but they were not tortured anymore. In that point of view, although it is claimed by the reformists that the new system was more humane, Foucault thinks that the reforms was part of a general tendency towards a more finely tuned justice, towards a closer penal mapping of the social body.⁷² This system was based not on the reconstitution of sovereign's power, but on the lesson, discourse, decipherable sign, the representation of public morality.⁷³ Its purpose was not to terrorize people but the reinforcement of the idea link between the idea of crime and the idea of punishment.⁷⁴ After that, and lastly, we see the development of the prison institution, the adopting of the penal incarceration as the principal form of punishment. In that new penal system, punishment, to put it in Foucault's words, was seen as a technique for the coercion of individuals; it operated methods of training the body – not signs – by the traces it leaves, in the form of habits, in behavior; and it presupposed the setting up of a specific power for the administration of the penalty.⁷⁵

According to Foucault, the emergence of prison as a form of punishment for every crime was the result of the development of the technology of discipline which makes part of the bio-power. Foucault defines disciplines as the methods,

⁷² *Ibid.*, p.78

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.110

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.110

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.131

which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed upon them a relation of docility-utility.⁷⁶ He tells that the disciplines existed since long before, – for example in monasteries, armies - they became aspects of domination through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but that their historical moment was the nineteenth century when an art of the human body was born.⁷⁷

For Foucault, the ideal model of prison which will serve the realization of discipline is Bentham's Panopticon.

Foucault explains the principle on which Panopticon is based as:

[A]t the periphery, an annular building; at the centre, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other. All that is needed, then, is to place a supervisor in a central tower and to shut up in each cell a madman, a patient, a condemned man, a worker or a schoolboy. By the effect of backlighting, one can observe from the tower, standing out precisely against the light, the small captive shadows in the cells of the periphery. They are like so many cages, so many theatres, in which each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible. The panoptic mechanism arranges spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately. In short, it reverses the principle of the dungeon; or rather of its three functions – to enclose, to deprive of light and to hide – it preserves only the first and eliminates the

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.137

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.137

other two. Full lighting and the eye of a supervisor capture better than darkness, which ultimately protected. Visibility is a trap.⁷⁸

Panopticon functions by the help of its two features. First is its being visible all the time: the inmate will constantly have before his eyes the tall outline of the central tower from which he is spied upon and second, its being unverifiable: [T]he inmate must never know whether he is being looked at at any one moment; but he must be sure that he may always be so.⁷⁹ And in time, the inmate interiorizes the fact of being watched, and becomes his own overseer.

In other words, Panopticon, is designed to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power.⁸⁰ It sustains a power relation independent of the person who exercises it and so the inmates become themselves the bearers of a power situation.

To sum up, we can say that Foucault uses the Panopticon as a metaphor and thus, the principle of the Panopticon can be applied not only to prisons but to any system of disciplinary power, such as factories, hospitals, schools. And, it is possible to say that, though it was not built concretely, its principle can be seen in many aspects of modern society and it served to create a Panopticon society in which everyone, every individual is his own overseer.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.200

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.201

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.201

CHAPTER II:

Mechanisms of Control

II.1. Complete surveillance

*1984*⁸¹ and *We*⁸² tell about two totalitarian states which exert complete surveillance over their citizens. The method they use is very similar to Bentham's Panopticon, which we have tried to explain in the previous chapter, and which is seen as the ideal surveillance mechanism by both Bentham and Foucault. Bentham has proposed Panopticon as a prison model, and Foucault, departing from the architectural principles of it, tried to show how its principles are used to control individual behavior. However, in *1984* and *We*, we are face to face with another usage of Panopticon; not a Panopticon as a prison, nor a conceptual one based on this principle, but a Panoptic mechanism used in order to watch all citizens in the concrete meaning of the term, as a means of total control.

To begin with *1984*, just at the beginning of the book, Orwell makes us feel what kind of a controlled society he will depict. Winston, while going to his flat, reads us the words on the poster hung on the walls of each landing, with a black-moustachio'd, enormous face gazing from the wall, following you about when you moved, and the poster read BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING

⁸¹ George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, London, Penguin Books, 2000

⁸² Eugene Zamiatin, *We*, New York, E. P. DUTTON & CO., INC, 1952

YOU .⁸³ These posters are all around the city and remind people that they are under constant surveillance. Besides its abstract, psychological meaning, they are *really* watched. In Oceania there are telescreens placed in every party member's house. These telescreens, which could be dimmed, but that there was no way of shutting off completely⁸⁴, received and transmitted simultaneously .⁸⁵ They receive any sound, even sounds lower than a whisper⁸⁶ and as long as you remain within the field of vision which the metal plaque commanded, [you] could be seen as well as heard .⁸⁷ Meanwhile, this is not an only in-house surveillance, but people are watched also on the streets. Moreover, in places where it is hard to locate a telescreen, there are microphones, at least to hear what has been going on. For example, in the country, which it would be bad for you if you attracted attention while going, since it was unusual, as Winston says: There were no telescreens, of course, but there was always the danger of concealed microphones by which your voice might be picked up and recognized .⁸⁸

The thing that made this surveillance method effective is that one never knew when he is watched and when not. So, one had to live as he was constantly watched. To quote from the book:

There was of course no way of knowing whether you were being watched at any given moment. How often, or on what system, the

⁸³ Orwell, p.5

⁸⁴ The inner party members could shut them off but for at most half an hour. *Ibid.*, p.155

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.6

⁸⁶ Later in the book, Winston is afraid even of the beatings of his heart being heard since the telescreen is delicate enough to pick it up. *Ibid.*, p.72

⁸⁷ Winston says within the field of vision here, because, in his apartment he has found a place where he could hide from the telescreen, but this is an extraordinary situation.

⁸⁸ Orwell, p.108

Thought Police plugged in on any individual wire was guesswork. It was even conceivable that they watched everybody all the time. But at any rate they could plug in your wire whenever they wanted to. You had to live – did live, from habit that became instinct – in the assumption that every sound you made was overheard, and, except in darkness, every moment scrutinized.⁸⁹

If we remember the things we have said about Panopticon in the first chapter, we see how similar the control mechanism exerted in Oceania is to it. The basic properties of Panopticon were its being visible all the time, and its being unverifiable. In Panopticon, the inmate had always before his eyes the tower of the Panopticon, and the citizens of Oceania, instead of tower, have telescreens in front of their eyes. Again, in Panopticon, the inmate had never known whether he is being looked at at any one moment; but he must be sure that he may always be so⁹⁰ just like the citizens of Oceania. Thus, in Oceania people behave as if they were always watched. However, we must emphasize that this control mechanism does not lead to people *internalizing* power relations, as Foucault proposes in his theory of Panopticon society. They act according to the rules because they know that if they do not, they will be punished severely.

Telescreens are not the only control mechanisms in Oceania. In addition to them, everyone is watched by everyone. Especially children are educated in that way. Children participated in organizations like the Spies where they were turned into ungovernable little savages by the songs, the processions, the banners, the hiking, the drilling with dummy rifles, the yelling of slogans, the

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.6

⁹⁰ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p.201

Worship of Big Brother.⁹¹ This ferocity of children is turned against the enemies of the State. Even parents were afraid of their children since hardly a week passed in which the Times did not carry a paragraph describing how some eavesdropping little sneak – child hero was the phrase generally used – had overheard some compromising remark and denounced his parents to the Thought Police.⁹² Besides, at the end of the book, we see Parsons, the neighbor of Winston at the Ministry of Love⁹³, denounced by his little daughter.

Another control mechanism was the Thought Police who followed the ones who are thought to be committing thought crime. The Thought Police was everywhere. You could not guess who was a thought police or not, or where you would meet them. You even did not feel that you were under their gaze before they captured you just like in the case of Winston. Winston, after his arrestment, when he was inside the Ministry of Love, learns that he was watched for seven years. There was no physical act, no word spoken aloud, that they had not noticed, no train of thought that they had not been able to infer. Even the speck of whitish dust on the cover of his diary they had carefully replaced.⁹⁴ They had played sound-tracks to him, shown him photographs.⁹⁵ It was impossible to escape from the Thought Police once you had fallen into their hands.

In *We*, we see another kind of surveillance. People live in houses with transparent walls which means sheer surveillance. People are under the

⁹¹ Orwell, p.25

⁹² *Ibid.*, p.25

⁹³ The Ministry of Love maintained law and order.

⁹⁴ Winston had put that dust on his diary to be able to understand if the diary is opened by someone else.

⁹⁵ Orwell, p.250

surveillance of not only the State, but also of everyone. They live beneath the eyes of everyone, always bathed in light .⁹⁶ They can lower their curtains only when they have pink tickets, which means a permission to sexual relationship. However, they are not unhappy; at least D-503 is not, with that situation. They seem to be living in conformity with the system and as D-503 says they have nothing to conceal from one another .⁹⁷ Besides this kind of living facilitates the task of the Guardians.

Guardians in *We*, like the Thought Police of Oceania, fight against unorthodoxies. Again, like the Ministry of Love in Oceania, we have the Bureau of Guardians in the United State. In the United State, however, things worked in a different way. In Oceania people were brought to Ministry of Love by force, unwillingly, probably because they knew that any heresy could mean death. However, in the One State people seem more at peace with the system that they are learnt to go to The Bureau of Guardians by themselves in case that they think they have committed a crime. In the United State, every crime is seen as an attack to public happiness, which is the most important value everyone must protect. (However, throughout the book we do not witness anyone who surrenders himself.)

The Guardians, just like the Thought Police, are everywhere and disguised. In case of need they intervene – just like they did on the uprising on the Unanimity Day. Meanwhile, the Guardians, as we learn from D-503, are seen as working for the well-being of people. In the eyes of D-503, our unseen

⁹⁶ Zamiatin, p.19

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.19

Guardians are always right there among us, are they not, to register the Numbers who might fall into error and save them from any further false steps? ⁹⁸ In other words they are looked at with sympathy, at least by ones who think similar to D-503 and seen as thorns about a rose, thorns that guard our tender State Flower from coarse hands .⁹⁹

Registration also is an important control mechanism in the State. People, while entering and leaving their homes are recorded by a controller. And this controller reports any unorthodox act to the Guardians.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.130

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.65

II.2. Control before the Fact

In *Brave New World*¹⁰⁰ the control mechanisms of 1984 and *We* are replaced by, let us say, a safer mechanism: Conditioning. The World State's motto is COMMUNITY, IDENTITY, STABILITY¹⁰¹, instead of 1984's WAR IS PEACE, FREEDOM IS SLAVERY, IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH, and these principles are put into effect via conditioning methods.

Brave New World opens by introducing us the CENTRAL LONDON HATCHERY AND CONDITIONING CENTER where all the modern fertilizing processes take place. According to that process, first the week's supply of ovaries and gametes are stored in incubators and passed through certain chemical operations and tests.¹⁰² After the fertilization the eggs to be Alphas and Betas are put into their bottles from which they will be decanted, while eggs to be Gammas, Deltas and Epsilons are sent to the Bokanovsky Process. A bokanovskified egg is divided into eight to ninety-six buds, and every bud grows

¹⁰⁰ Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World*, New York, HarperCollins, 2005

¹⁰¹ Huxley, p.3

¹⁰² Director of Hatcheries and Conditioning explanation of the process of fertilizing ...continued with some account of the technique for preserving the exercised ovary alive and actively developing; passed on to a consideration of optimum temperature, salinity, viscosity; referred to the liquor in which the detached and ripened eggs were kept; and, leading his charges to the work tables, actually showed them how this liquor was drawn off from the test-tubes; how it was let out drop onto the specially warmed slides of microscopes; how the eggs which it contained were inspected for abnormalities, counted and transferred to a porous receptacle; how (and he now took them to watch the operation) this receptacle was immersed in a warm bouillon containing free-swimming spermatozoa – at a minimum concentration of one hundred thousand per cubic centimetre, he insisted; and how, after ten minutes, the container was lifted out of the liquor and its contents re-examined; how, if any of the eggs remained unfertilized, it was again immersed, and, if necessary, yet again; how the fertilized ova went back to the incubators; where the Alphas and Betas remained until definitely bottled; while the Gammas and Deltas and Epsilons were brought out again, after only thirty-six hours, to undergo Bokanovsky's Process. *Ibid.*, pp.5-6

up to be an embryo. Thus, by this method you can acquire up to ninety-six human beings, identical twins, from an egg. As the Director of Hatcheries and Conditioning explains, Bokanovsky's Process is one of the major instruments of social stability! since, thanks to it you can have Ninety-six identical twins working ninety-six identical machines! ¹⁰³ In other words, this means that it is The principle of mass production at last applied to biology. ¹⁰⁴

After that process eggs are labeled up to their heredity, date of fertilization, membership of Bokanovsky Group, that is to say they are named, identified and sent to Social Predestination Room where their qualities are determined. This process is followed by the process in Embryo Store. This room is in tropical heat and in twilight, since embryos can stand only red light. In that room, bottles with embryos in them, are lined up on racks which move thirty-three and a third centimeters an hour and two thousand one hundred and thirty-six meters in all ¹⁰⁵ during that travel they pass from several operations. In addition to chemical operations they endure physical operations like the shaking which is made to familiarize the embryos with movement or like the precautions for the prevention of trauma of decanting. Also in that period they are tested for their sexes and labeled up to them. ¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.7

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.7

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.12

¹⁰⁶ ...a T for the males, a circle for the females and for those who were destined to become freemartins a question mark, black on a white ground. *Ibid.*, p.13

However, we must mention that the employees of the center didn't content themselves with merely hatching out embryos: any cow could do that .¹⁰⁷ But the more important thing is that embryos are *predestined* and *conditioned* in that center, as can be grasped from its name. There, babies are decanted as socialized human beings, as Alphas or Epsilons, as future workers or future (...) Directors of Hatcheries .¹⁰⁸

The process of conditioning takes place again during the travel we have mentioned above. Embryos, in certain meters of their travel are exposed to certain operations. For example, at meter 320, you have the revolution counter , where the number of the revolutions per minute is reduced by controlling the amount of oxygen passing through the lungs of the embryo and thus by keeping them below par due to oxygen shortage.¹⁰⁹

To give some other examples; some embryos are conditioned to heat for that they prefer instinctually to work in tropical climates; the ones to be chemical workers are trained in the toleration of lead, caustic soda, tar, chlorine ; the containers of future rocket-plane engineers were kept in constant rotation , to improve their sense of balance .¹¹⁰

As a result, we can say that in those sections of the Hatchery and Conditioning Center, people are conditioned and prepared physically to their destinies. However, the conditioning process does not end there. From those

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.13

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.13

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.14

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.17

sections, after having been decanted, babies are taken to NEO-PAVLOVIAN CONDITIONING ROOMS where they are conditioned psycho-physiologically.

In Neo-Pavlovian Conditioning Rooms, babies are conditioned in order that every one of them behave according to the requirements of their classes and thus to the economic and social system of the World State. For example, by electric shocks, lower classes are conditioned to stay away from books – because lower classes' reading books is considered as the waste of Community's time, furthermore, there is the risk of their reading something which might undesirably decondition one of their reflexes¹¹¹ – and botany – since its against the principles of economy which presupposes consumption, and since in the country flowers are free. Instead of that, people are conditioned to like all country sports which require elaborate apparatus.

The most common and effective technique of conditioning is hypnopædia. In that method, children are made to listen to the selected texts in their sleeps. This method is used especially for moral education. The lessons include matters like sex, class consciousness, health and hygiene matters, rules of social conduct, briefly everything that is a moral issue. As the Director says, hypnopædia is considered as [t]he greatest moralizing and socializing force of all time.¹¹²

In that method the lessons are repeated to children thousands of time

Till at last the child's mind is these suggestions and the sum of the suggestions is the child's mind. And not the child's mind only. The

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.22

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p.28

adult's mind too – all his life long. The mind that judges and desires and decides – made up of these suggestions. But all these suggestions are *our* suggestions! (...) Suggestions from the State.¹¹³

Regarding all we have said above, it is possible to say that this method of conditioning brings to mind Althusser's theories about the Ideological State Apparatuses. If we remember Althusser's theories; he enumerated ISAs as the religious ISAs, the educational ISAs, the family ISA, the legal ISA, the political ISA, the trade-union ISA, the communications ISA, the cultural ISA. According to Althusser all those functioned in the service of the state in order to make individuals behave in the way the state wanted and thus, to assure the continuity of the current system. Through ISAs, individuals are interpellated as subjects and it is assured that these subjects adopted the ideology imposed to them as their own ideas and behaved up to it. And, in case that there had been individuals that did not behave in the ideology, as Althusser tells in case of existence of bad subjects there intervene the Repressive State Apparatus to maintain the order.

It is possible to think of this conditioning method, as an apparatus covering the functions of all the ISAs we have mentioned above. Every rule and norm that are needed for the well-functioning and continuity of the system, are put in the minds of the citizens of The World State through conditioning. Furthermore, the conditioning begins even before birth, which reminds us Althusser's proposition that individuals are always-already subjects. It can be said that what is aimed and realized in The World State is exactly that. Babies are born (decanted) as predestined, conditioned to a certain degree and their

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p.57

conditioning is completed before they reach the age that they will become conscious. Therefore, since individuals' minds are totally under control, and that their thoughts, suggestions are those of the State itself as we have said above, unorthodox behavior is not, or rarely observed and as a matter of fact there is nearly no need of a Repressive State Apparatus. Yet, when they are needed, as when the savage, after seeing his mother dying but unconscious under the effect of *soma*, got furious thinking that his mother's life is shortened by *soma* and rebelled, the policemen used water pistols and *soma* vapor to calm, and capture him. If an unorthodox behavior is in question, then, either that person is dismissed or excluded by his surrounding or as in Bernard's example, is threatened and punished by exile to a far region.

II.3. Control through Fire

In *Fahrenheit 451*¹¹⁴ the basic control mechanisms are terror and connected with it, the one that people exercise over others. It can be said that the society depicted in *Fahrenheit 451* is based on fear. There, the basic source of terror is the firemen and their Mechanical Hound, some kind of a robot in the mind of which the firemen could set up chemical combinations of the person they wanted it to track. The Hound, with that information in its mind, targeted itself, tracked the person and usually killed him. It was nearly impossible to mislead the Hound; at least that was what people were made to believe. Although Montag managed to escape from it at the end of the book, people in front of their televisions – the hunts are always broadcasted on TV – never knew this since the Hound caught someone and it was announced that he was Montag.

As for the firemen, since the time that the houses were made fireproof, they served as book burners. There, reading and even keeping books which are seen as the biggest obstacle before equality and happiness are prohibited. And the firemen, depending on the denunciations they got, burnt the books, and sometimes with them, even the owners of the books; as we see in the example of the old woman who did not leave the house and preferred to burn with her books.

It can be said that in *Fahrenheit 451* fire is used as a means of intimidation and a show of power. During the burning of the house of the old woman, Montag notices that the alarms always come at night. Then, he becomes

¹¹⁴ Ray Bradbury, *Fahrenheit 451*, London, Flamingo, 1993

aware of the, let us say sub-function of book burning; to intimidate people and to consolidate the power of the state. Always at night the alarm comes. Never by day! Is it because the fire is prettier by night? More spectacle, a better show? ¹¹⁵

To give another detail about fire, there, funerals are also eliminated and people are burnt after their deaths. To quote from firemen captain Beatty:

Funerals are unhappy and pagan? Eliminate them, too. Five minutes after a person is dead he is on his way to the Big Flue, the Incinerators serviced by helicopters all over the country. Ten minutes after death man's a speck of black dust. Let's not quibble over individuals with memorials. Forget them. Burn them all, burn everything. Fire is bright and fire is clean.¹¹⁶

In *Fahrenheit 451*, as we see at the end of the book, all crimes, and especially reading books, are considered as crimes against society and as we see at the end of the book, are punished with death. Thus, each person, bearing in his mind this fact, has turned into an overseer in the service of the system. People do not hesitate and sometimes even hurry to inform their neighbours to the firemen. People have interiorized that fear so much that among the people who have informed Montag, there is also Mildred, his wife. There, fear of fire is above anything.

In addition to the fear motive, we see that in *Fahrenheit 451*, as in *1984*, *We* and *Brave New World*, people are also educated beginning at the kindergarten, according to the requirements of the system. By education, the effects of old customs, heredity and environment is tried to be effaced from people's minds. They want people to think and behave just up to the needs and

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.46

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.67

norms of the system and thus, as fireman captain Beatty says: That's why we've lowered the kindergarten age year after year until now we're almost snatching them from the cradle. Thanks to this, they manage to nip (...) them in the bud, early.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.67

CHAPTER III

Punishment

III.1. Coercion

“If you want a picture of the future, imagine a boot stamping on a human-face – for ever”.

The punishment system of 1984 is based on violence. Even, the sight of the Ministry of Love's (Miniluv in Newspeak) building itself is enough to understand how violence is dominant in that state. As Winston depicts it,

It was a place impossible to enter except on official business, and then only by penetrating through a maze of barbed-wire entanglements, steel doors and hidden machine-gun nests. Even the streets leading up to its outer barriers were roamed by gorilla-faced guards in black uniforms, armed with joined truncheons.¹¹⁸

In Oceania, the basic and the most common crime is Thoughtcrime. In fact it is not very surprising, because since there is such a strict control on people that they even do not think about violating the rules, the minds are nearly the only places that a crime can be committed. However, in Oceania, even that is

¹¹⁸ Orwell, p.8

forbidden. There, any unorthodox thought, is considered as heresy and punished severely. Yet, it is not necessary for it to be put in action to be punished. The thought itself is enough to be a crime. As Winston tells us after having written in his diary `D O W N W I T H B I G B R O T H E R`

Whether he went on with the diary, or whether he did not go on with it, made no difference. The Thought Police would get him just the same. He had committed – would still have committed, even if he had never set pen to paper – the essential crime that contained all others in itself. Thoughtcrime, they called it.¹¹⁹

In Oceania, it is impossible to avoid punishment, once you had committed, or thought to be committed – because, even if you are innocent, it is impossible for you to prove it – thoughtcrime; sooner or later you will be punished. The people that committed thoughtcrime simply vanished, *vaporized*. As Winston explains

In the vast majority of cases there was no trial, no report of the arrest. People simply disappeared, always during the night. Your name was removed from the registers, every record of everything you had ever done was wiped out, and your one-time existence was denied and then forgotten. You were abolished, annihilated: *vaporized* was the usual word.¹²⁰

They became an *unperson* as they had never existed.

Another important aspect of punishment is public executions. In Oceania, public executions are a popular spectacle. People and especially the children are very eager to go to those spectacles. For example, Parsons's children clamor to

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.20

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.20

go to see the hanging of some Eurasian prisoners, guilty of war crimes that are to be hanged that night. It can be said that these public executions are similar to the ones that are seen at the nineteenth century which Foucault tells about in *The Discipline and Punish*. The public executions of the nineteenth century aimed to form in spectators and thus, the citizens, an act/crime-punishment relationship and so to give them lesson.

It is no longer the terrifying restoration of sovereignty that will sustain the ceremony of punishment, but the reactivation of the code, the collective reinforcements of the link between the idea of crime and the idea of punishment. In the penalty, rather than seeing the presence of the sovereign, one will read the laws themselves. The laws associated a particular crime with a particular punishment. As soon as the crime is committed, the punishment will follow at once, enacting the discourse of the law and showing that the code, which links ideas, also links realities. The junction, immediate in the text, must be immediate in acts.¹²¹

This legible lesson, this ritual recoding, must be repeated as often as possible; the punishments must be a school rather than a festival; an ever-open book rather than a ceremony. The duration that makes the punishment effective for the guilty is also useful for the spectators. They must be able to consult at each moment the permanent lexicon of crime and punishment. A secret punishment is a punishment half wasted. Children should be allowed to come to the places where the penalty is being carried out; there they will attend their classes in civics. And grown men will periodically relearn the laws.¹²²

After all, what shows us how the punishment system of Oceania is based on violence is the third part of the book which passes in the Ministry of Love and

¹²¹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p.110

¹²² *Ibid.*, p.111

tells Winston's experiences there. As we have said at the beginning of this part, even the building of Miniluv is enough to arouse in people some kind of terror. Moreover, no one knows what's been happening in there. They can only guess; as Winston does, before being arrested, tortures, drugs, delicate instruments that registered your nervous reactions, gradual wearing-down by sleeplessness and solitude and persistent questioning.¹²³ The third part of the book shows us that Winston is not wrong in his guess.

The violence begins at the moment of arrest. Winston and Julia are beaten harshly when they are caught in their rented room. When Winston is taken to the Ministry of Love, we see the inside of the building. Winston is put in a cell with no windows. In fact, there are no windows in the whole building and it is illuminated every hour of the day. It [is] the place with no darkness.¹²⁴ Furthermore, there are four telescreens in the cell, one on each wall. The complete surveillance continues in the Ministry of Love. During the time he stays there, Winston witnesses and he himself envisages several acts of violence and torture. He is beaten:

How many times he had been beaten, how long the beatings had continued, he could not remember. Always there were five or six men in black uniforms at him simultaneously. Sometimes it was fists, sometimes it was truncheons, sometimes it was steel rods, sometimes it was boots. There were times when he rolled about the floor, as shameless as an animal, writhing his body this way and that in an endless, hopeless effort to judge

¹²³ Orwell, p.151

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.208

the kicks, in his ribs, in his belly, on his elbows, on his shins, in his groin, in his testicles, on the bone at the base of his spine¹²⁵

He is tortured:

He was almost flat on his back, and unable to move. His body was held down at every essential point. Even the back of his head was gripped in some manner.

Without any warning except a slight movement of O'Brien's hand, a wave of pain flooded his body. It was a frightening pain, because he could not see what was happening, and he had the feeling that some mortal injury was being done to him. He did not know whether the thing was really happening, or whether the effect was electrically produced; but his body was being wrenched out of shape; the joints were being slowly torn apart. Although the pain had brought the sweat on his forehead, the worst of all was the fear that his backbone was about to snap.¹²⁶

At last, he witnesses the most horrible torture: Room 101. When he was in his cell, he had already seen how people begged for not to be taken to Room 101 and wondered what was in there. At last he learnt it: The thing that is in Room 101 is the worst thing in the world.¹²⁷ That worst thing varied from individual to individual and for Winston it was rats. When he was threatened by a cage designed as a mask that fitted to the face full of rats Winston, finally, surrendered completely, gave up everything including Julia and his personality.

Meanwhile, we must say that all those are not made in order to make Winston confess his crime or to punish him. Besides, he had already confessed his crime, even; he confessed things that he has not done. But confession is not

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.218

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.222

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.256

enough for the Party. As O'Brien explains all those are made in order to cure him. To make him sane. The Ministry of Love is not interested in those stupid crimes that you have committed. The Party is not interested in the overt act: the thought is all we care about. We do not merely destroy our enemies, we change them.¹²⁸ The Party is not content with negative obedience. If a criminal will surrender, it must be of his free will. A criminal is not killed as long as he resists. Before he is killed, he is brought to Party's side heart and soul.¹²⁹ Criminals never knew when they were to be killed. Sometimes, death came as a bullet at the back of the head while going from one cell to another. Meanwhile, in some cases, criminals, after being cured, after having disappeared for some time, are released for a year or two, and then you saw them in a public execution confessing their crimes and expressing their loyalty to the Party before being executed. All those show that the Party sees heresy as something that can contaminate and as O'Brien says It is intolerable to us that an erroneous thought should exist anywhere in the world, however secret and powerless it may be. Even in the instant of death we cannot permit any deviation.¹³⁰ Then, it can be said that by the heretic's show of loyalty, the Party convinces people that there is nothing as heresy or heretics, and so, in a way they also destroy the meaning of those notions.

Winston also is released at the end, when he learnt to love Big Brother, when he really loved him. However, regarding the procedure above, who knows how long he will live.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.229

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.231

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.231

To sum up, above we have tried to show how much a repressive state is Oceania. Though, Orwell, so disappointed of the developments of his time, thought that the things would be even worse in the times to come and he makes O'Brien say that "If you want a picture of the future, imagine a boot stamping on a human-face – for ever."¹³¹

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p.242

III.2. Operation

The punishment system of The United State is similar to that of Oceania. In the United State, there is the Operation Department which functions like the Ministry of Love of Oceania, which maintains law and order. The agents of the Operation Department are the guardians. These guardians, just like the thought police, are everywhere and disguised. In addition to their functioning as the spies of the system, in case of an unorthodox behavior or an uprising, they intervene in the situation with violence. For example, as D-503 recounts, guardians use their electric whips on three people, who had probably acted against the rules during the afternoon walk: One of the guards snapped his back with the bluish spark of the electric whip – he squealed in a thin voice like a puppy. The distinct snaps followed each other at intervals of approximately two seconds; a snap and a squeal, a snap and a squeal..¹³² there, what deserves to be mentioned is the indifference of the other walkers, they are so convinced that the guardians are the protectors of the system and thus of the well-being of people that no one show any reaction. Even, they are, at least D-503 is, impressed by the beauty of electric whip.

The ultimate punishment in the United State is dissociation, splitting of the atoms¹³³ of the criminal in a public execution. This kind of punishment can be compared to vaporization of Oceania. But, whereas in Oceania this referred

¹³² Zamiatin, p.119

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p.45

to the disappearance of individuals, in the United State this is really made with the help of technological devices as the Gas Bell, and the Machine.

In the United State, technology plays a very important role in the system of punishment. As D-503 says, the best and the most important physicians work in the Operation Department under the direct supervision of the Well-Doer himself.¹³⁴ Among their many instruments, the best is the Gas Bell. The Gas Bell is inspired from an ancient experiment in which a rat was put under a gas bell and the air was pumped out gradually. At the end, the air became so rare that the rat died. The Gas Bell, for its part is a more perfect apparatus and is used in combination with many different gases. That apparatus is used for torturing to make the criminals confess.

The ultimate punishment, splitting of the atoms of the body of the criminals is realized with the Machine. The Machine was placed on the top of the Cube, and the punishments were executed publicly. Let us now, tell how this execution is accomplished: The criminal stands on the steps of the cube with his hands tied up with a red ribbon which symbolized the chains of the old days when criminals thought that they had the right to resist, however in the United State, they do not even think of it, considering it will serve to nothing. Then, the Well-Doer who stands next to the machine, with a gesture of his hand, invited on the scene a poet and then another one to read poems emphasizing the significance of the day. After the poems, the Well-Doer, again with a gesture of his hand, calls the criminal on the scene, under the machine and he goes to the lever to activate the machine. Let us quote the rest from the book:

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.76

The hand moved down, switching in the current. The lightning-sharp blade of the electric ray.... A faint crack like a shiver, in the tubes of the Machine.... The prone body, covered with a light phosphorescent smoke; then, suddenly, under the eyes of all, it began to melt – to melt, to dissolve with terrible speed. And then nothing; just a pool of chemically pure water which only a moment ago had been so red and had pulsed in his heart....¹³⁵

These public executions in the United State, as the ones in Oceania, served to create in the minds of the spectators a crime-punishment relationship. But, the only purpose of the public executions is not only that. The whole ceremony is planned as an impressive show. One of the most impressive aspects of the scene is the hands of the Well-Doer. The Well-Doer stands on the top of the cube, and his hands, seen from the below, look like hands in a photograph that look enormous since they were too near to the camera. According to D-503 's depiction, it is as if the spectators feel the weight of those hands on them. It is possible to say that these hands can be seen as a symbol of oppression that people feel over themselves. Furthermore, though, the spectators are very familiar with that spectacle, as D-503 tells, every time they watch the scene of dissociation, a sense of admiration is evoked in them. They consider the situation as miraculous; as something symbolizing the superhuman power of the Well-Doer.¹³⁶ In that way, the loyalty to the Well-Doer and to the system is consolidated.

However, at the end of the book we encounter a new development, an invention of a new technique of making people obey the system, a way to

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.46

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.46

complete loyalty and happiness: the surgical removal of fancy ¹³⁷ In the *State Journal*, fancy is defined as It is a worm that gnaws black wrinkles on one's forehead. It is a fever that drives one to run further and further, even though further may begin where happiness ends. It is the last barricade on our road to happiness. ¹³⁸ And this last barricade is blasted. The latest discovery of our State science is that there is a center for fancy – a miserable little nervous knot in the lower region of the frontal lobe of the brain. A triple treatment of this knot with X-rays will cure you of fancy. ¹³⁹ At the beginning, this operation was recommended to citizens but after the uprising on the Unanimity Day and the ones following them, it became obligatory for every citizen to have it.

THE ENEMIES OF HAPPINESS ARE AWAKE! HOLD TO YOUR HAPPINESS WITH BOTH HANDS. TOMORROW ALL WORK WILL STOP AND ALL NUMBERS ARE TO COME TO BE OPERATED UPON. THOSE WHO FAIL TO COME WILL BE SUBMITTED TO THE MACHINE OF THE WELL-DOER. ¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.77

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.167

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.167

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.180

III. 3. Crimes against Society

Fahrenheit 451 tells the story of a society where books, seen as a banner against equality, are forbidden and the biggest crime is to read books or even to have them in your house. The remaining books are constantly searched and burnt by the firemen. In *Fahrenheit 451*, since all houses are made fireproof, firemen serve as book burners. The firemen work according to denunciations. In case of a denunciation they go to the relevant house and burn the books and sometimes even the house. Normally, before the firemen, the police go to the house and evacuate it, and then the firemen burn the books. However, if the firemen have gone to the denounced house before the police, there takes place violence scenes, especially if the owner of the books resists. In those cases, the criminals are beaten severely, or as in the case of an old woman who opposes to evacuate the house, are burned with the books.

In *Fahrenheit 451*, the firemen are the most important source of horror. The thing that make them so terrifying is not only their not hesitating of using physical violence, but also the hound, a mechanical creature, which they use in case of an attempt to escape, or to track the escaping criminals. The hound is not an intelligent machine, nor it has feelings; but it has a memory, and the chemical complex of a person can be loaded in it. Its calculators can be set to any combination, so many amino acids, so much sulphur, so much butterfat and alkaline .¹⁴¹ It functions according to that information. Using that information It

¹⁴¹ Bradbury, p.34

follows through. It targets itself, homes itself, and cuts off .¹⁴² When it catches its target, it uses its four-inch hollow steel needle plunging down from its proboscis and injects massive jolts of morphine or procaine. Once the chemical complex of someone is loaded in the Hound, it is nearly impossible for that person to escape from it. We say nearly, because Montag managed escaping from it.

If we remember a little, Montag was denounced by his wife, and his neighbors of keeping books in his house. His house was set to fire. Meanwhile, he had killed firemen captain and run away. Then a chase all over the town has started. Montag was tracked by police helicopters and the hound. The chase was broadcasted on the television, and all the citizens of the town were included in it by commanding them to look out from their windows and to inform the police if they see him. The live broadcast of the chase can be considered as similar to the public executions of *1984* and *We*. Though in a different way, it is assured that the citizens witness the punishment scene. They are made aware of what will happen to them, if they happen to commit a crime, and behave the same way. Furthermore, by their inclusion to the chase, the fact of everyone's being the overseer of everyone – because they are already overseers as firemen work according to denunciations - is consolidated. However, it is not possible to say that this surveillance mechanism is internalized by the people as in Foucault's Panopticon society; rather they are motivated by the feeling of horror. Though, Montag manages to run away by walking down the river and effacing his odor, people in front of their televisions are made to think that he is captured by

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p.34

capturing anyone walking down the street. The camera fell upon the victim, even as did the hound. Both reached him simultaneously. The victim was seized by Hound and camera in a great spidering, clenching the grip. He screamed. He screamed. He screamed! ¹⁴³ In that way, it is assured to give people the impression that any crime cannot be left without punishment. The search is over, Montag is dead; a crime against society has been avenged. ¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.156

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.157

III.4. Not with the Fists But the Brains and the Buttocks

As told in the previous chapter, the control mechanism used in the World State is conditioning people. By a thorough conditioning, it is assured that everyone thought and behaved according to the ideology of the state. The conditioning covered all aspects of life that people could not have any unorthodox idea on anything. Thus, all possible heresies and crimes are eliminated from before. As a result, nearly no unorthodox behavior is observed in the World State and so, there is not much need for punishment mechanisms.

Throughout the book we witness only four cases which can be defined as unorthodoxy. First there is Lenina's being only with Henry for four months. In the World State, there is an incitement to promiscuity and long love relationships that can harm the loyalty to the state are disapproved. Thus, Lenina's friend Fanny warns Lenina about her behavior and recommends her to meet other men. And the continuity of such unorthodox behavior is punished by dismissal.

Then there are Bernard's and Helmholtz's situations. These two commit bigger crimes since they act against the basic norms and values of the World State. If it was for the United State of *We*, and the Oceania of *1984*, in case of such a heresy they would have been punished with death. However, since the conditioning mechanism provides a complete formation of mind and it is nearly impossible to shift people's ideas, they are not considered as very big threats, and punished only with exile to a distant island.

Finally we witness the Savage's rebellion in The Park Lane Hospital for Dying, where his mother awaited her death. There, the Savage sees her mother completely drugged under the effect of *soma* and accuses the people there to hasten her death. With the fury of this, he puts the hospital in a mess. Just there we learn the existence of a police in the World State. However, this police is quite different from the ones we have seen in the United State or Oceania. As weapons they have and use only water pistols charged with a powerful anesthetic and spraying machines filled with *soma* vapor and a Synthetic Music Box. Policemen, first pump *soma* vapor into the air and then run the music box. From the music box, comes The Voice of Reason, the Voice of Good Feeling; Synthetic Anti-Riot Speech Number Two is heard.

My friends, my friends! said the Voice so pathetically, with a note of such infinitely tender reproach that, behind their gas masks, even the policemen's eyes were momentarily dimmed with tears, what is the meaning of this? Why aren't you all being happy and good together? Happy and good, the Voice repeated. At peace, at peace. It trembled, sank into a whisper and momentarily expired. Oh, I do want you to be happy, it began, with a yearning earnestness. I do so want you to be good! Please, please be good and ...¹⁴⁵

In two minutes the *soma* vapor and the Voice produces their effect and people begin to hug each other in tears.

So, we see that, in the World State, even in case of an uprising, again the mind-numbing methods are put into work. And, in case of a resistance, it is to be repressed by the anesthetic which also takes the brain as its target.

¹⁴⁵ Huxley, p.215

CHAPTER IV

The Deployment of Sexuality

Foucault, as we have told in the first chapter, considers sex as a political issue. The political significance of the problem of sex is due to its being located at the pivot of the two axes, the discipline of the body and the control of population, along which develops the entire political technology of life.

According to Foucault, the modern state, needed not to repress but to administer the sexual life of its citizen. Modern state, to be able to better govern the lives of its citizens, and the population as a whole, had to administer sex, to

[A]nalyze birthrate, the age of marriage, the legitimate and illegitimate births, the precocity and frequency of sexual relations, the ways of making them fertile or sterile, the effects of unmarried life or of the prohibitions, the impact of contraceptive practices.¹⁴⁶

For Foucault, the administration of sexual lives through certain norms and rules means the production of sexuality, up to which the individuals will regulate their behaviors. Thus, Foucault asserts that sexuality is a historical construct

not a furtive reality that is difficult to grasp, but a great surface network in which the stimulation of bodies, the intensification of pleasures, the incitement to discourse, the formation of special knowledges, the

¹⁴⁶ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, pp.25-26

strengthening of controls and resistances, are linked to one another, in accordance with a few major strategies of knowledge and power.¹⁴⁷

Regarding that, it is possible to say that every state produces its own sexuality depending on its values and the needs of its system. So, in this chapter we will try to examine the deployment of sexuality in *We, 1984* and *Brave New World* and the motives behind that.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.105-106

IV.1. “Love and Hunger Rule the World”

The control of sexuality in the United State has its origins in the proverb Love and Hunger rule the world ¹⁴⁸. The problem of hunger was solved by the invention of petroleum food, although that invention caused the Two Hundred Years' war between the city and the land who wanted to hold on to its bread and resulted with the death of eight tenth of the population of the globe. The problem of hunger having solved, the problem of love was in queue:

Naturally, having conquered hunger (that is, algebraically speaking, having achieved the total of bodily welfare), the United State directed its attack against the second ruler of the world, against love. At last this element also was conquered, that is, organized and put into a mathematical formula. It is already three hundred years since our great historic *Lex Sexualis* was promulgated: A Number may obtain a license to use any other Number as a sexual product. ¹⁴⁹

Sex is also regulated technically. Everyone is examined in the laboratory of Sexual Department where the content of the sexual hormones in his blood is tested. According to the results, a Table of sexual days is formed for everyone. Then, anyone who wanted filed an application to enjoy the services of a Number or some Numbers and they got a checkbook (pink) for that purpose. On sexual days these pink checks are given to the controllers and in response a certificate

¹⁴⁸ Zamiatin, p.21

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.22

permitted the use of the curtains¹⁵⁰ is received. Thanks to the pink checks curtains can be lowered for 45 minutes.

Considering what we have said above, it is seen that in the United State of We, sex is not repressed but administered according to *Lex Sexualis* which can be resembled to *Scientia Sexualis* of Western Societies. *Lex Sexualis*, with its incitement to promiscuity, implies the removal of emotions from sex and assures that sex does not give harm to the loyalty to the state. As D-503 explains, in the United State the emotional side of sex is eliminated, emotions like envy or jealousy is rendered nonsense and it is converted ... into a harmonious, agreeable, and useful function of the organism, a function like sleep, physical labor, the taking of food, digestion, etc., etc.¹⁵¹

As a result it can be said that the *Lex Sexualis* implied promiscuity and banned all sort of love relationship, of loyalty other than to the state. Thus, there is not any institution as family, and having children is prohibited both of which can be considered as threats to loyalty to the state. As can be figured out from the proverb Love and Hunger rule the world in the United States sex is taken as a political issue and is tried to be regulated and controlled as much as possible. The proof of its being a political issue is people's copulating without lowering the curtains after the rebellion on the day and the days following the Unanimity day. By that act, in a way people show their protests against the current system

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.19

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.23

IV.2. Sexual Act as Rebellion

In *1984* also sex is considered as a political issue, on which the state can and must exercise its power. However, different than in the United States, in Oceania of *1984*, sexual behavior is both repressed and administered.

As Winston Smith explains, the aim of the Party was not only to prevent loyal relationships between men and women that would be difficult to control but primarily to remove all pleasure from the sexual act.¹⁵² Not love so much as eroticism was the enemy, inside marriage as well as outside it.¹⁵³ Regarding that, the marriages between party members are controlled by a committee and if any physical attraction is felt between the couple concerned, their marriage is refused. In Oceania, the only purpose of marriage is to have children that will be useful for the party. As Winston's ex-wife says, having children is a duty to the party.¹⁵⁴ As Winston expresses it, the sexual intercourse was to be looked on as a slightly disgusting minor operation, like having an enema.¹⁵⁵ Promiscuity, different than *We* and *Brave New World*, especially between Party members, is forbidden and seen as an unforgivable crime. Chastity is ingrained in women as Party loyalty.

By careful early conditioning, by games and cold water, by the rubbish that was dinned into them at school and in the Spies and the Youth League, by lectures, parades, songs, slogans and martial music, the

¹⁵² Orwell, p.61

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.61

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.61

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.61

natural feeling had been driven out of them.... The sexual act, successfully performed, was rebellion. Desire was thoughtcrime.¹⁵⁶

Regarding all we have said above, it is possible to say that the main purpose of the Party was to repress sexuality. And as Julia explains, the motive behind that was not only to prevent the creation of a field by the sex instinct outside the Party's control, but that sexual privation induced hysteria which could be turned into war-fever and leader worship.¹⁵⁷ If we quote from Julia:

When you make love you're using up energy; and afterwards you feel happy and don't give a damn for anything. They can't bear you to feel like that. They want you to be bursting with energy all the time. All this marching up and down and cheering and waving flags is simply sex gone sour. If you're happy inside yourself, why should you get excited about Big Brother and the Three-Year Plans and the Two Minutes Hate and all the rest of their bloody rot?¹⁵⁸

The functioning of the family institution in Oceania, for its part, can be seen as the example of deployment of sexuality. The family, beginning from the formation of it – as we have explained above, the control of the party members to be married – is regulated. Furthermore, it has turned into an institution in the service of the system. Children are grown up as spies who do not hesitate informing their parents. As Winston expresses, The family had become in effect an extension of the Thought Police.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.63

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.121

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.121

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.122

IV.3. “Hug Me Till You D rug M e”

In the World State of *Brave New World*, sexuality is thoroughly administered beginning even at the bottles in which embryos are grown. In the World State, the fertility is seen as merely a nuisance and only thirty percent of female embryos are allowed to be fertile.

Before explaining how sexuality is administered in the World State, we must mention that like in Zamiatin's *We*, sex is not repressed but encouraged. There, the stability of the system is tried to be assured by incitement to pleasure and fun.

In the World State, sexuality, as all other aspects of life is administered through conditioning. This conditioning begins at early ages of children. Children are made to play erotic games, which are seen as ordinary and even necessary for them. By these erotic plays and other conditioning methods that continue even when they are grown up, promiscuity is encouraged and assured. For example, at the end of the Solidarity Services, to which every citizen must participate in certain intervals, the twelve participants make *Orgy-Porgy*; some kind of sex ceremony which they enjoy each other.

In the World State promiscuity is even a norm that any behavior recalling loyalty is disapproved. In the World State, as in the One State of *We*, and Oceania of *1984*, any kind of loyalty that could be a threat to the loyalty to state is seen as dangerous and forbidden and hence the loyalty that can occur from a love relationship.

In the World State, there is no such thing as a family and it is even seen as an obscene concept. Since children are decanted, they have no notion of parenthood in their minds. Though some has heard it as an ancient word and notion, they even avoid pronouncing words as mother or father, considering them as blasphemies. For example, to ask someone who his mother is, is a dirty joke. However, we must say that the word father is not as obscene as the word mother. What makes motherhood more obscene is its recalling the fact of giving birth to a baby.

In the World State, as mentioned above, babies are decanted from bottles and only thirty percent of female embryos left fertile. Yet, it must not be thought that those fertile females gave birth. They are left fertile, in order to take their ovaries later when needed to produce children, but again in hatchery center. Taking these fertile female in consideration, birth control is a very important matter of conditioning. Mature females wore Malthusian Belts with contraceptive cartridges in it as birth control mechanism and they are quite careful about using them. For example a night, Lenina even if she had taken two doses of *soma*, does not forget to take contraceptive precautions described by the regulations. Years of intensive hypnopædia and, from twelve to seventeen, Malthusian drill three times a week had made the taking of these precautions almost automatic and inevitable as blinking.¹⁶⁰ And, regarding the encouragement of promiscuity and all the exclusion of motherhood, the importance of birth control is understood better.

¹⁶⁰ Huxley, p.77

To conclude, it can be said that, as Booker says, the encouragement of promiscuity in the World State is not intended to stimulate sexual passions, but, on the contrary, to reduce them by making sex a virtually meaningless activity.¹⁶¹ At the end of the book, while talking to Savage and explaining the World State's policy towards love and sex, the world controller Mustapha Mond explains very well the purpose of the administration of sexuality, and the reason behind the encouragement of promiscuity: ...chastity means passion, chastity means neurasthenia. And passion and neurasthenia mean instability. And instability means the end of civilization. You can't have a lasting civilization without plenty of pleasant vices.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ M, Keith Booker, *The Dystopian Impulse in Modern Literature : Fiction as Social Criticism*, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1994, p.53

¹⁶² Huxley, p.237

CHAPTER V

Reality Control

...no class can hold State power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses” .¹⁶³

“We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth” .¹⁶⁴

After having examined in the previous chapter the functioning of the Repressive State Apparatus in *1984*, *We, Brave New World* and *Fahrenheit 451*, in this chapter we'll try to study how those repression mechanisms are supported by ISAs.

As we have explained in the first chapter, Althusser proposed that the ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence .¹⁶⁵ In this chapter we will use the term reality control to explain that theory.

¹⁶³ Althusser, p.146

¹⁶⁴ Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, p.93

¹⁶⁵ Althusser, p.162

The term the reality control is in fact a term used in *1984*, by Winston Smith, to explain the purpose of Ingsoc (English socialism in New speak). The reality control expresses the sum of the basic principles of Ingsoc which are New speak, doublethink, mutability of the past¹⁶⁶ and which aim to control the minds of people and impose its own truth. Although this term is taken from *1984*, we can say that it is valid for all the dystopian novels which are observed here. So, in this chapter, we will try to see what the reality control is and how it functions in each of our dystopian novels.

¹⁶⁶ Orwell, p.26

V.1. 2+2=5

“In the end the Party would announce that two and two made five, and you would have to believe it”.

To begin with the one to which we owe the term, in *1984* we see the most strict reality control policy, compared to other dystopias, -no need to add that it has also the most oppressive system - . In *1984*, the ISA, the institution which directs the reality control is Ministry of Truth (Minitrue in Newspeak) which concerned itself with news, entertainment, education and the fine arts ¹⁶⁷, which means the production and the control of the whole cultural sphere.

In Oceania, the reality control is realized in three ways: the new language newspeak, a term invented for the newspeak, the doublethink and the mutability of the past. First we will have a look at the principles of newspeak and why it is invented.

As Orwell explains in his appendix to novel, Newspeak is the official language of Oceania and is invented to meet the ideological needs of the system Ingsoc. The purpose of Newspeak is not only to provide a medium of expression for the world-view and mental habits proper to the devotees of Ingsoc,

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.8

but to make all other modes of thought impossible .¹⁶⁸ As Syme, a philologist, a specialist in Newspeak explains, this purpose will be realized partly by inventing and mostly by destroying words or their secondary meanings. According to Whorf hypothesis the world or the reality is conceived through words, and one can think in the limits of a language. Then, by destroying words, by limiting a language you also limit the sphere of thought of people. To give an example, according to Syme, there are hundreds of nouns that can be got rid of. Up to him synonyms and antonyms are unnecessary. If you have a noun as good what is the use of having a noun as bad since a word contains its opposite in itself .¹⁶⁹ You can express your thoughts about something's being good or bad by words such as ungood , plusgood or doubleplusgood . By that way you can economize from many words. But, what is more important is to get rid of or destroy the secondary meanings of words which bear political meanings such as the word free . For example, the word free still existed in new speak but in the meanings like This dog is free from lice or This field is free from weeds .¹⁷⁰ It is stripped of its political or intellectual sense since there did not exist any political or intellectual freedom . The same is valid for the word equal . Meanwhile, words such as *honor, justice, morality, internationalism, democracy, science* and *religion* had simply ceased to exist .¹⁷¹ The words which can be grouped around the concepts of liberty or equality are contained in one word crimethink .¹⁷² This word, in fact, expressed all heresies. The vocabulary

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.270

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.48

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.271

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.275

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p.275

of sex is also limited in that way. The sexual lives of citizens of Oceania (except the proles, of course) are regulated by the words *sexcrime* which meant sexual morality, and *goodsex* meaning chastity. *Sexcrime* covered all sexual misdeeds.fornication, adultery, homosexuality and other perversions, and, in addition, normal intercourse practiced for its own sake .¹⁷³

By the way, it will be good to undertake the word *doublethink* formed in the same way as *crimethink* . *Doublethink* ¹⁷⁴ means the power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one's mind simultaneously, and accepting both of them .¹⁷⁵ As we have said above, this is one of the basic principles of Ingsoc. Syme chooses the word *duckspeak* as an example. This word applied to an opponent, it is abuse; applied to someone you agree with, it is praise .¹⁷⁶ The most beautiful examples of *doublethink* are, without doubt, the slogans of Ingsoc:

WAR IS PEACE ,
FREEDOM IS SLAVERY,
IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH .¹⁷⁷

We must also add that the passage to Newspeak, which is planned to be complete by the year 2050, consists also the translation of old works of literature

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.276

¹⁷⁴ Winston Smith explains *doublethink* as, To know and not to know , to be conscious of complete truthfulness while telling carefully-constructed lies, to hold simultaneously two opinions which cancelled out, knowing them to be contradictory and believing in both of them; to use logic against logic, to repudiate memory while laying claim to it, to believe that democracy was impossible and that the Party was the guardian of democracy; to forget whatever it was necessary to forget, then to draw it back into memory again at the moment when it was needed, and then promptly to forget it again: and above all, to apply the same process to the process itself. That was the ultimate subtlety: consciously to induce unconsciousness, and then, once again, to become unconscious of the hypnosis you had just performed. Even to understand the word *doublethink* involved the use of *doublethink* . *Ibid.*, p.34

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.193

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.51

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.27

into Newspeak. But since many words in Oldspeak (English as we know it) do not exist in Newspeak, this translation means also the changing of the meanings of these words. The feelings and ideas expressed in those works are incompatible with the principles of Oceania and, thus, they are turned into something new, into something contradictory of what they used to be.¹⁷⁸ In fact, when the passage to Newspeak will be complete, even the party slogans will change. Above we have said that, for example, the concept of freedom will be abolished. Then, the slogan 'Freedom is slavery' will lose its meaning. This means the change of whole climate of thought. As Syme, the philologist says, 'In fact there will be no thought, as we understand it now. Orthodoxy means not thinking – not needing to think. Orthodoxy is unconsciousness.'¹⁷⁹

After all, since, it is possible to say that Ingsoc is already an oppressive system and all heresy is considered as *thoughtcrime* and as Winston says 'Thoughtcrime does not entail death, thoughtcrime IS death'¹⁸⁰ what, then, is the need of Newspeak? As Syme puts it, the aim of the Newspeak is to narrow the range of thought and thus make the thoughtcrime literally impossible. And just then the Revolution will be complete; when the language is perfect when Newspeak is Ingsoc and Ingsoc is Newspeak.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.50

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.50

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.28

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.49

V.2. The Mutability of the Past

“Who controls the past, controls the future: who controls the present controls the past”

The reality control principle of Ingsoc is also based on the mutability of the past. The mutability of the past can be seen as the manipulation of past by the Party. In Oceania this is realized by the Records Department which is a branch of the Ministry of Truth and,

whose primary job [is] not to reconstruct past but to supply the citizens of Oceania with newspapers, films, textbooks, telescreen programs, instruction or entertainment, from a statue to a slogan, from a lyric poem to a biological treatise, and from a child's spelling book to a Newspeak dictionary.¹⁸²

And the mission of the Records Department in which Winston Smith works, is to alter, to rectify the news that appear in the *Times*, the newspaper of Oceania, according to the truth of the day. There, the news that are contradictory to the truth of the day are searched, and then rectified, the number of the *Times* in which that news appeared is reprinted and the original copy is destroyed. It must also be added that this process is applied not only to the newspaper but also to books, periodicals, pamphlets, posters, leaflets, films, soundtracks, cartoons,

¹⁸² Orwell, p.41

photographs – to every kind of literature or documentation which might conceivably hold any political or ideological significance .¹⁸³ By the way, those appeared before 1960, that is to say before the Revolution, are completely destroyed.

By means of this manipulation, in Oceania, what is at present is always true, moreover, was and will be true for ever. In the book there are many examples of that, one of the most striking is Oceania's being at war with Eastasia or Eurasia. We say or because it changes all the time and citizens think that they have always been at war with the one they are at war with at the moment. Even Winston, who himself make corrections, does not know in which periods Oceania was in war with which. He also doesn't know for how long does the Party exist or whether the Big Brother had always been the leader or not – as he is believed to be. It is even claimed by the Party that the plane is invented after the Revolution. Another example showing the citizens irrelevance to the history and what is quite surprising is that, Winston, when beginning to write his diary can not guess the date; he is not sure whether it is the year 1984 or not. So, it is possible to say that the citizens in Oceania live in an endless present. As Winston says, History has stopped. Nothing exists except an endless present in which the Party is always right .¹⁸⁴

Above, we have explained the functioning of the principles of Ingsoc as means of reality control. However, as can be understood from the jobs of

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.38

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.141

Ministry of Truth, those are not the only ways through which the State imposes its ideology on people.

Education is also an important way of controlling reality in *1984*. Remembering Althusser, he had said that the dominant ISA was *educational ideological apparatus*.¹⁸⁵ According to him, *educational ideological apparatus* takes children in their early ages, when they are most vulnerable and drums into them, whether it uses new or old methods, a certain amount of know-how 'wrapped in the ruling ideology (...) or simply the ruling ideology in its pure state'.¹⁸⁶ In *1984* also that's the way how it goes. All the school books are written by the Ministry of Truth according to the ideology of Oceania.¹⁸⁷ In addition to that, children have to participate in organizations as Spies or Junior Anti-Sex League where they are provided with the principles of Oceania.

In Oceania, telescreens, in addition to their usage as control mechanisms, are also used as propaganda agents. In the previous chapter, we have mentioned

¹⁸⁵ Althusser, p.152

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.155

¹⁸⁷ To give an example, Winston quotes in his diary a part from the children's history book: In the old days (it ran), before the glorious Revolution, London was not the beautiful city that we know today. It was a dark, dirty, miserable place where hardly anybody had enough to eat and where hundreds and thousands of poor people had no boots on their feet and not even a roof to sleep under. Children no older than you had to work twelve hours a day for cruel masters who flogged them with whips if they worked too slowly and fed them on nothing but stale breadcrusts and water. But in among all this terrible poverty there were just a few great big beautiful houses that were lived in by rich men who had as many as thirty servants to look after them. These rich men were called capitalists. They were fat, ugly men with wicked faces, like the one in the picture on the opposite page. You can see that he is dressed in a long black coat which was called a frock coat, and a queer, shiny hat shaped like a stovepipe, which was called a top hat. This was the uniform of the capitalists, and no one else was allowed to wear it. The capitalists owned everything in the world, and everyone else was their slave. They owned all the land, all the houses, all the factories, and all the money. If anyone disobeyed them they could throw them into prison, or they could take his job away and starve him to death. When any ordinary person spoke to a capitalist he had to cringe and bow to him, and take off his cap and address him as 'Sir'. The chief of all the capitalists was called the King, and - , Orwell, p.67

that the telescreens both received and transmitted. In other words, as well as their being watched and listened, people can also be interpellated. In Oceania, people have to get up at a certain hour, and do some morning exercises according to the commandments coming from the telescreen. A morning, when Winston does not make the exercises properly, the voice from the telescreen shouts at him.

Smith! (...) 6079 Smith W! Yes, *you!* Bend lower, please! ¹⁸⁸ Booker says that this can be an example of Althusser's interpellation of individuals as subjects.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, in Oceania, telescreens are used to broadcast statistics proving that people today had more food, more clothes, better houses, better recreations – that they lived longer, worked shorter hours, were bigger, healthier, stronger, happier, more intelligent, better educated, than the people of fifty years ago. ¹⁹⁰

As we are examining the ISAs, we cannot continue without touching on Althusser's principle that Ideology has a material existence. ¹⁹¹ According to Althusser, the ideas of a human subject exist in his actions, or ought to exist in his actions and these actions are turned into *practices*.¹⁹² He also points out that these practices are governed by *rituals* in which these practices are inscribed, within the *material existence of an ideological apparatus*, be it only a small part of that apparatus: a small mass in a small church, a funeral, a minor match at a sports club, a school day, a political party meeting, etc. ¹⁹³ Regarding this theory,

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.35

¹⁸⁹ Booker, *Dystopian Impulse in Modern Literature*, p.79

¹⁹⁰ Orwell, p.68

¹⁹¹ Althusser, p.165

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p.168

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.168

it is possible to evaluate the Two Minutes Hate rituals of Oceania as an example of that theory. In Oceania, there is no religion. There, God is replaced by Big Brother. In that point of view, Two Minutes Hate rituals can even be resembled to religious rituals, where the Big Brother is worshipped and Emmanuel Goldstein, the Enemy of the People is damned; in other words, where ideology is put into action.

In fact, in Oceania, people are surrounded by ideology. To give an example, in Oceania, people live in Victory Mansions, smoke Victory Cigarettes, drink Victory Coffee, walk on Victory Square etc. That is to say, by that way, it is imposed on them that they are winners and prevented their thinking otherwise.

In Oceania, even proles, who are not counted as citizens, are subjects of propaganda. They are distracted by popular, meaningless songs¹⁹⁴, produced without any human intervention (...) on an instrument known as a versificator¹⁹⁵ by a sub-section of Music Department. In fact all their cultural life is administered by the Ministry of Truth.

[In the Ministry of Truth] were produced rubbishy newspapers containing almost nothing except sport, crime and astrology, sensational five-cent novelettes, films oozing with sex, and sentimental songs which were composed entirely by mechanical means on a special kind of kaleidoscope known as a versificator. There was even a whole sub-

¹⁹⁴ It was only an hopeless fancy,
It passed like an April dye,
But a look at a word and the dreams they stirred
They have stolen my heart away! Orwell., p.126

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.126

section – *Pornosec*, it was called in Newspeak – engaged in producing the lowest kind of pornography, which was sent out in sealed packets and which no Party member, other than those who worked on it, was permitted to look at.¹⁹⁶

To sum up, we can say that, in Oceania people are so *besieged* by ideology and violence that they have lost their thinking reflex; at least they look as if they have lost, because, they know that otherwise they will be punished as Winston is. Yet, that's what the Party of Oceania wants. As can be understood from all we have said above, the Party denies the existence of external reality. In the Ministry of Love, during Winston's torture O'Brien claims that Reality exists in the human mind, and nowhere else.¹⁹⁷ However, not in individuals' minds but in the mind of the Party. As O'Brien says, Whatever the Party holds to be truth *is* truth. It is impossible to see reality except by looking through the eyes of the Party.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.41

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.225

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.226

V.3. The Power of Words

In the United State of *We*, we do not see a reality control effort as thorough and as complicated as the one in Oceania of *1984*. Yet, the State maintains its control in history, and it tries to numb people's mind mostly through the power of words.

In the United State of *We*, different than in the Oceania of *1984*, we do not see a constant manipulation of history but rather we see an ignorance of the past. In the United State, the past is considered as something, let's say, primitive and it is thought that those primitiveness has been surpassed. Thus, nearly anybody reminds of the past and the things D-503 tells us about the past are told in order to demonstrate the superiority of the present, indicating an impassable abyss, between the thing of today and of years ago.¹⁹⁹ As D-503 says, they think that they have reached and live in the loftiest summit of the human history.²⁰⁰ Regarding that, it is possible to say that the history has stopped in the United State and there is no need of change; furthermore, any change is considered as a change for the worse. In the United State, people live in constant present; but a present under constant control.

As in our other dystopias, also in *We*, thinking is not approved and is tried to be abolished. What is aimed is to make people think in the way the state wants them to. As D-503 tells us, the United State, in order to realize its purpose, tries

¹⁹⁹ Booker, *The Dystopian Impulse in Modern Literature*, p.40

²⁰⁰ Zamiatin, p.23

the power of words .²⁰¹ On the first page of the book, we read a quote from the State newspaper , telling about the launching of the *Integral* which will be sent to the space, calling people to write things to be able to subjugate to the grateful yoke of reason the unknown beings who live on the other planets :... .Whoever feels capable must consider it his duty to write treatises, poems, manifestoes, odes, and other compositions on the greatness and the beauty of the United State .²⁰²

In the United State, the power of words is used through poetry. Meanwhile, as Booker states, These poems are intended not for private reading or meditation, but for performance at the various public spectacles that are periodically held to reinforce the power of the One State and its Benefactor .²⁰³ Furthermore, this poetry is saved from its absurdity , as D-503 calls it. D-503 makes a resemblance between the ocean waves and poetry to explain how poetry is made docile. He affirms that, in the past, the ocean splashed on the shore continuously without any interruption or use. The energy hidden in the waves was used only for the stimulation of sweethearts!²⁰⁴ They managed to obtain electricity from the waves. They made a domestic animal out of that sparkling, foaming, rabid one!²⁰⁵ That was also applied to the poetry. They domesticated and harnessed the wild element of poetry. Now poetry is no longer the unpardonable whistling of nightingales, but a State Service!²⁰⁶ Moreover, in the

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.3

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p.3

²⁰³ Booker, *The Dystopian Impulse in Modern Literature*, p.35

²⁰⁴ Zamiatin, p.65

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.65

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.65

United State there is an institution as Institution of State Poets and Authors for which R-13, a poet, a friend of D-503 works. These poets or authors produce didactic works in the service of the state, reflecting its ideology. Some of them can be enumerated as such: Daily Odes to the Well-Doer! , Flowers of Court Sentences! , Those Who Come Late to Work! , Stanzas on Sex Hygiene! ²⁰⁷

As we have mentioned above, in the United State, the purpose was to prevent people thinking, having their own thoughts in discordance with the state's. At the end of the book, the dream of the United State, and also of states of other dystopias, has come true. The surgical removal of fancy is invented. By that method, the part of the brain which produced fancy is deactivated and people were saved from fancies and unorthodox thoughts for ever.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.65

V 4. The Ultimate “Ideological State Apparatus”

Among our four dystopian novels concerned, it is possible to say that *Brave New World* is the one in which the reality control principle is most strictly put into practice. If we remember from the previous chapters, in the World State of *Brave New World*, the methods used to control people were *conditioning* them. This conditioning began even at the ovary and continued till adulthood and it covered all aspects of life. After that training, people's relationship with reality is completely broken since the only reality they know is that of the State's. Regarding those, conditioning can be defined as the ultimate form of Althusser's *educational ideological apparatus*.

According to Althusser, as explained in the previous part, the *educational ideological apparatus* provided the children with the know-how wrapped up in the ruling ideology to render them in the service of the State. Following varying education durations children are ejected into production 'as workers, peasants, technicians, executives, soldiers, politicians etc. In the World State, children are predestined, their professions are determined just at the ovary. According to that the ovaries are bokanovskified or left as single embryos. From a bokanovskified egg may grow up to ninety-six embryos, ninety-six human beings who will be used in mass-production. Moreover, embryos are conditioned with heat, cold or some chemicals according to their future professions. In that way, it is assured that they do their jobs not because they have to, but they also *love* the things they do. As Mustafa Mond puts it, that's the secret of happiness and virtue – liking

what you've got to do. All conditioning aims at that: making people like their inescapable social destiny .²⁰⁸

This conditioning reminds also Foucault's theory of docile bodies. As we have studied in the first chapter, Foucault asserts that modern state and the capitalism needed docile bodies to maintain the relations of production and the continuity of the system. He says that docile bodies are created by the help of disciplines which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed on them a relation of docility-utility .²⁰⁹ Then, it can be said that this is what is aimed also at the World State and that the conditioning method is maybe the safer way of realizing it.

In the World State of Brave New World, the history is neither manipulated constantly nor ignored, but denied. The main concern of the World State, as Mustapha Mond explains to stabilize the population at this moment, here and now .²¹⁰ A phrase of Ford summarizes the approach of World Government to history: History is bunk .²¹¹ Everything related to past is considered as incompatible with the values of the World State. For that reason, everything that might remind people of the past is destroyed; museums are closed, historical monuments are blown up and the books published before A.F.150 are suppressed. For example Shakespeare is suppressed because it is old and moreover beautiful. That is something unacceptable in the World State, since

²⁰⁸ Huxley, p.16

²⁰⁹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p.137

²¹⁰ Huxley, p.8

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.34

one of its basic principles is the encouragement of consumption. There, children are conditioned with slogans as Ending is better than m ending. The more stitches, the less riches .²¹² Thus, to keep something old is wrong as a principle. However, we must say that the main motive behind all these is to maintain stability.

In the World State, apart from the thorough conditioning, the most important agent of stability is *soma* tablets. As the World Controller Mustapha Mond explains, in A.F 178 two thousand pharmacologists and bio-chemists were subsidized and six years later they had managed to produce the perfect drug *soma* which is euphoric, narcotic, pleasantly hallucinant..²¹³ *Soma* had All the advantages of Christianity and alcohol; none of their defects .²¹⁴ Here, we must mention that soma is the most effective way of controlling reality. *Soma* provides people with a feeling of holiday; it breaks off their relation with the real world – though it is controversial how real their world is. Everyone has its daily *soma* ration, and it is up to the person to decide for the duration of holiday: half a gramme for a holiday, a gramme for a week-end, two grammes for a trip to the gorgeous East, three for a dark eternity on the moon .²¹⁵ *Soma* also relieves people from worries about the past or the future, and gives them a feeling of an eternal present. As Lenina repeats the slogan: Was and will make me ill, (...) I take a gramme and only am .²¹⁶

²¹² *Ibid.*, p.49

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p.53

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.54

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.55-56

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.104

In the World State, people really live always in present, the time has stopped, and this is also valid for the ages of people. In the World State people do not get old as we know it. There, old age is considered as a threat to the stability and, in a way, is annihilated as a concept. As Mond explains, in the old days, when people got old, they used to retire, take to religion and spend their times with reading and *thinking!* The World State could not stand that; that was completely against the norms of it. To avoid those dangers All the physiologic stigmata of old age have been abolished.... Along with them all the old man's mental peculiarities.²¹⁷ In that way, it is assured that Characters remain constant throughout a whole lifetime.²¹⁸ In the World State, the chemical balance of people is protected and they can work and play, do what young people can do.

...at sixty our powers and tastes and are what they were at seventeen. ...the old men work, the old men copulate, the old men have no time, no leisure from pleasure, not a moment to sit down and think – or if ever by some unlucky chance such a crevice of time should yawn in the solid substance of their distractions, there is always *soma*, delicious *soma*, half a gramme for a holiday, a gramme for a week-end, two grammes for a trip to the gorgeous East, three for a dark eternity on the moon; returning whence they find themselves on the other side of the crevice, safe on the solid ground of daily labor and distraction, scampering from feely to feely, from girl to pneumatic girl, from Electromagnetic Golf course to...²¹⁹

However, at a certain age the body collapsed. The people to die went to hospitals for dying and died there in *soma* holidays. We must say that in the World State death is an ordinary thing since children are conditioned to it;

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.55

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.55

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.55-56

beginning at their eighteenth month they are taken to those hospitals where the most beautiful toys are placed.

In addition to conditioning and *soma*, people are exposed to a constant mind-numbing in the World State. In the World State, there are various Bureaux of Propaganda working with the College of Emotional Engineering. These two operated in the same building along with three great London newspapers: *The Hourly Radio*, *The Gamma Gazette* and *The Delta Mirror*. Each of those newspapers were addressed to some social cast; for example, *The Hourly Radio* was an upper-caste sheet; *The Gamma Gazette* was published on pale green paper which is the color of Gammas; and *The Delta Mirror* was published on khaki paper and in words exclusively of one syllable.²²⁰ Regarding all that, it is possible to say that people are kept strictly in their castes and protected against anything that may give them a clue of something exterior to their worlds, anything that may decondition them.

Among the various Bureaux of Propaganda, there are Bureaux of Propaganda by Television, by Feeling Picture and by Synthetic Voice and Music. The World State employed Sound-Track Writers and also Synthetic Composers. Those institutions played a very important role in filling people's leisure times. There, people went to Feelies where you watched, but also felt the films which were usually based on sexual pleasure – which the State consider as one of the most important aspects of distracting, controlling people. Music also, is used as a propaganda agent. For example, Lenina and Henry go to Westminster Abbey Cabaret where CALVIN STOPES AND HIS SIXTEEN

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.66

SEXOPHONISTS take scene. The Sixteen Sexophonists play and old, popular song called: There ain't no Bottle in all the world like that dear Bottle of mine .²²¹

As we have mentioned above, reading is not approved and as Booker says: Books are almost nonexistent, because reading is a largely individual activity that is difficult to control and because books are too long to read, creating the danger of an extended exposure that might lead to thought and meanwhile diverting readers from more economically productive activities in this ultra-capitalist society. After all, [y]ou can't consume much if you sit still and read books .²²² Yet, there is also a strict control and censorship over the books to be published. Near the end of the book we see Mustapha Mond examining a typescript entitled A New Theory of Biology . Mond finds the ideas in the book novel and ingenious but at the same time heretical and, so far as the present social order is concerned, dangerous and potentially subversive .²²³ He writes across the title-page: *Not to be published*" . The author would be kept under supervision and maybe transferred to a distant biological station. Though Mond found the book as a masterly piece of work, still it had to be censored since:

²²¹ The words of the song are as follows:

"Bottle of mine, it's you I've always wanted!

Bottle of mine, why was I ever decanted?

Skies are blue inside of you,

The weather's always fine;

For

There ain't no Bottle in all the world

Like that dear Bottle of mine ., Ibid., (p.76)

²²² Booker, *Dystopian Impulse in Modern Literature*, p.58

²²³ Huxley, p.177

It was the sort of idea that might easily decondition the more unsettled minds among the higher castes – make them lose their faith in happiness as the Sovereign Good and take to believing, instead, that the goal was somewhere beyond, somewhere beyond, somewhere outside the present human sphere; that the purpose of life was not the maintenance of well-being, but some intensification and refining of consciousness, some enlargement of knowledge. Which was, the Controller reflected, quite possibly true. But not, in the present circumstance, admissible.²²⁴

Lastly, to have a look at the language policy of the World State, it is possible to say that, no new language is created as it is done in Oceania, nor it is controlled so directly. There is no need of controlling language directly since, as Booker states, the World State has created an environment in which there is nothing subversive to express, regardless of the extent of one's linguistic dexterity. In the World State, people's spheres of thought are so restricted that they can only think with the words of the state. We see that, throughout the book, when someone made a comment on something, that comment is usually just a repetition of a slogan of the state which they had listened during hypnopædia. As well as thoughts, emotions are also stripped of their contents and it is possible to see its reflection in the language. The words of a song, which Lenina also repeats to express her feeling to John, are examples of lack of content of emotions:

*Hug me till you drug me, honey;
Kiss me till I'm in a coma;
Hug me, honey, straggly bunny;
Love's as good as soma.*²²⁵

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.177

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.166

V.5. Books vs. Equality

In *Fahrenheit 451*, the most striking mind-numbing method is the burning of books. Books are considered as the primary threat to the concepts of equality and happiness and burned by the firemen who serve for that purpose since that the houses are made fireproof.

In fact the prohibition of books has an interesting history. Captain Beatty claims that it was people themselves who turned their backs to books and stopped buying because of all the evil thoughts in them. They preferred to read magazines, comic-books, three dimensional sex-magazines that made them happy. As Beatty explains, thus

It didn't come from the Government down. There was no dictum, no declaration, no censorship, to start with, no! Technology, mass exploitation, and minority pressure carried the trick, thank God. Today, thanks to them, you can stay happy all the time, you are allowed to read comics, the good old confessions, or trade journals.²²⁶

Moreover, books also make some people intellectual, because of what some others may feel themselves inferior. A book is a loaded gun in the house next door. Burn it. Take the shot from the weapon. Breach man's mind. Who knows who might be the target of the well-read man?²²⁷ So the firemen, losing their function as fire stoppers, were given the new job, as custodians of our peace of mind, the focus of our understandable and rightful dread of being

²²⁶ Bradbury, p.65

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.65

inferior; official censors, judges, and executors . That was the way to equality and happiness,

C olored people don 't like L ittle B lack S am bo . B urn it. W hite people don 't feel good about U ncle T om 's C abin . B urn it. S om eone 's w ritten a book on tobacco and cancer of the lungs? The cigarette people are weeping? Burn the book. Serenity, Montag. Peace, Montag. Take your fight outside. Better yet, into the incinerator.²²⁸

Thus, B eatty calls the firemen H appiness B oys, the D ixie D uo standing against the ones w ho w ant to m ake everyone unhappy w ith conflicting theory and thought .²²⁹

As for the matter of history, as in *We, 1984*, and *Brave New World*, also in *Fahrenheit 451*, history begins and stops with the establishment of the current state. People do not know anything about the history and take everything for granted. For example even Montag, a fireman, believes that houses were always fireproof and that the firemen did always the same thing as they do now. In fact, this is quite normal since in the rule books of firemen, it is claimed that the first fireman was Benjamin Franklin and it was E stablished , 1790 , to burn E nglish-influenced books in the Colonies .²³⁰

In the World State television is a very important distraction agent. There people have wall size televisions, parlor walls . People try to have them on more walls as possible. For example Montag has TVs on three walls of his sitting room and his wife Mildred complains of not having a fourth one. In fact Mildred

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.66-67

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.68-69

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.42

is a good example of how people are captured by TVs. She spends all her time in front of the TV and considers the people on TV as her family. She calls them as aunts and uncles. Moreover, to consolidate the illusion that TV is real life, spectators are given the possibility to join in the programs from their homes.

Another way of distracting people, preventing their thinking is orienting them to sports, games. There, people are incited to live for pleasure and titillation and their culture provides plenty of those. As captain Beatty says: More sports for everyone, group spirit, fun, and you don't have to think, eh? Organize and organize and superorganize super-super sports. More cartoons in books. More pictures. The mind drinks less and less.²³¹ And, according to Beatty that's the way to happiness. Apart from those, people are also distracted by popular songs, or easy contests in which for instant the names of state capitals are asked. According to Beatty, thanks to these sorts of things people are happy because they feel they're thinking.²³²

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p.68

²³² *Ibid.*, p.68

CHAPTER VI

The Suppression of Individuality

VI.1. "N obody is *one*, but *one of*"

The United State of *We* is a state where individuality is nearly destroyed and where as Booker claims, the heinous crime is individualism.²³³ As D-503 affirms that is achieved with the Two Hundred Years' War – a magnificent celebration of the victory of *all* over *one*, of the *sum* over the *individual*! ²³⁴

In the United State people, instead of names have numbers; a consonant indicating a male number and a vowel a female number. These people are referred to as numbers and are stripped of all individuality. The life in the United State is also regulated according to that principle, according to The Tables. Let us quote from D-503 how the Tables function:

The Tables transformed each one of us, actually, into a six-wheeled steel hero of a great poem. Every morning, with six wheeled precision, at the same hour, at the same minute, we wake up, millions of us at once. At the very same hour, millions like one, we begin our work, and millions like one, we finish it. United into a single body with a million hands, at the very same second, designated by the Tables, we carry the spoons to our

²³³ Booker, *Dystopian Impulse in Modern Literature*, p.28

²³⁴ Zamiatin, p.44

mouths²³⁵; at the same second we all go out to walk, go to the auditorium, to the halls for the Taylor exercises, and then to bed.²³⁶

How ever, not all the hours of the day is dedicated to an activity. Twice a day, from sixteen to seventeen o'clock and from twenty-one to twenty-two are personal hours, again designated by the Tables. During these hours, people are free of their obligations, but as there is not much to do, some having pink checks, lower their curtains, some others march on the main avenue, and some just sit at their glass apartments, again under the eyes of everybody. Concerning all those, we can say that in the United State, there is no time of privacy, when one can stay by himself, be an individual.

In fact, it is possible to say that, in the United State, apart from losing their individuality, people are turned into automatons. For example, above we have said march, instead of walk because; they walk on the avenue, with the Musical Tower playing the March of the United State. The Numbers, hundreds, thousands of Numbers in light blue unifs (...) with golden badges on the chest – the State number of each one, male or female – the Numbers were walking slowly, four abreast, exaltedly keeping step.²³⁷

As observed again on the Unanimity Day, when the Well-Doer is elected unanimously every year, everyone is expected to lift his hand following the question Those in favor shall lift their hands.²³⁸ And they did, till that year.

²³⁵ ...fifty is the number of chewing movements required by the law of the State for every piece of food., *Ibid.*, p.97

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.13

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.7

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.134

As D-503, recounts, in the United State, this kind of organization of life is considered as necessary for the happiness of people. According to D-503, the state of freedom is an absurdity. Just at the beginning of the book, he asserts that non-freedom is something instinctive and he explains his thoughts with a deduction. He thinks that the dance is beautiful because it is an *unfree* movement. Because the deep meaning of dance is contained in its absolute, ecstatic submission, in the ideal *non-freedom*.²³⁹ And he arrives at the conclusion that, if his ancestors danced at their most inspired moments, then the instinct of non-freedom has been characteristic of human nature from ancient times²⁴⁰ and yet, they act *consciously* according to it.

In addition to that, freedom is seen as against happiness.²⁴¹ Between freedom (individuality) and happiness they chose happiness. In a poem draft, R-13 tries to tell the story of this choice. He recounts the ancient legend of paradise. According to that legend people are asked to make a choice between freedom and happiness, happiness without freedom, or freedom without happiness.²⁴² People have chosen freedom but soon they regretted their decision. And, only the United State found the way to regain happiness:

The ancient god and we, side by side at the table! Yes, we helped god to defeat the devil definitely and finally. It was he, the devil, who led people to transgression, to taste pernicious freedom – he, the cunning serpent.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.6

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.6

²⁴¹ This discussion, freedom vs happiness, is very similar to one that is held in chapter 5, The Grand Inquisitor of *The Brothers Karamazov*. cf., Fyodor Mihayloviç Dostoyevski, *Karamazov Kardeşler*, İstanbul, Adam Yayınları, 1993, pp.265-285

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p.59

And we came along, planted a boot on his head, and ... squash! Done with him! Paradise again!²⁴³

Later in the book, D-503 makes a remark as 'We' is from 'God,' 'I,' from the devil'.²⁴⁴ If the passage above is read with this remark, it is also understood that the biggest obstacle in front of happiness is individuality, and people could reach happiness just on condition that it is destroyed.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.59

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.121

VI.2. Names without Persons

As in the United State of *We*, also in Oceania individuality is tried to be annihilated. In fact, individuality concerned, these two states and two societies resemble very much. In Oceania, different than the United State people have names, but as we understand from the scene when the voice from the telescreen addresses *Winston 6079 Smith* !²⁴⁵, there too people have numbers. In the eyes of the state, each one is a number, not an individual being.

Indeed, the existence of telescreens itself is the indicator of the annihilation of individuality in Oceania. Whether it be in their apartments, or in the streets, or even in the country, the fact of people's being under constant surveillance shows us that there is no privacy in Oceania. In addition to that, though not as strict as the United State, everyday life is organized by the state. There, people have to get up at a certain hour, do morning exercises with the voice on the telescreen, then go to work, after work, participate to obligatory organizations, and be at home before twenty-two thirty. And, by the way, people have to wear the overalls of the Party.

In Oceania, in addition to these regulations, people's minds are also tried to be made uniform with all the control, punishment and ideological apparatuses. In Oceania, by the help of all these apparatuses, the State wants to and creates though, ...a nation of warriors and fanatics, marching forward in perfect unity,

²⁴⁵ Orwell, p.35

all thinking the same thoughts and shouting the same slogans .²⁴⁶ Moreover, it is possible to say that, in Oceania, the basic barrier before individuality is the strict control on thinking. And Winston thinks that people can be individuals just in condition that they are allowed to think and he even begins to write his diary with the words:

To the future or to the past, to a time when thought is free, when men are different from one another and do not live alone – to a time when truth exists and what is done cannot be undone:

From the age of uniformity, from the age of solitude, from the age of Big Brother, from the age of doublethink – greetings!²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.68

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.28

VI.3. Everyone Belongs to Everyone

In *Brave New World*, the notion of individuality is nearly totally eliminated. In the two novels we have mentioned above individuality is suppressed by several methods but in the World State of *Brave New World*, it is eliminated before the fact through conditioning.

To remember the previous chapters, in the World State people are decanted from bottles and pass through a thorough conditioning till they are adults. People are produced as Alpha s, Beta s, Gamma s, Delta s and Epsilon s according to their places in the future relations of production. Everyone is conditioned according to their classes. In other words, people there do not have an identity of their own. They do not have their own ideas but mere reflections of the state ideology. Moreover, by Bokanovski process, some eggs are divided into up to ninety-six identical embryos. These people growing from bokanovskified eggs, save having different ideas, do not even have unique bodies; they are just copies of tenths of people, produced by mass production. Also in the World State, two thousand million inhabitants of the planet [have] only two thousand names between them .²⁴⁸

However, in the World State, though their individuality is eliminated before the fact, still people are not left to themselves but administered continuously to prevent possible, extraordinary peculiarities. In the World State, people have to participate in obligatory organizations as in the United State and

²⁴⁸ Huxley, p.36

Oceania. There, they are called Solidarity Service and are attended once in a fortnight. In the Fordson Community Singery seven thousand rooms are reserved for the Solidarity Groups. In that meetings, twelve persons are seated around a table in the order of man, woman, man; as Bernard says, Twelve of them ready to be made one, waiting to come together, to be fused, to lose their twelve separate identities in a larger being.²⁴⁹ At the beginning of the service, *soma* tablets, dedicated to that service, passes from hand to hand with the formula I drink to my annihilation. And then the First Solidarity Hymn is sung:

*Ford, we are twelve; oh make us one,
Like drops within the Social River;
Oh, make us now together run
As swiftly as thy shining Flivver.*²⁵⁰

And then *soma* is passed for a second time this time with the formula I drink to the Greater Being and the Second Solidarity Hymn is sung:

*Come, Greater Being, Social Friend,
Annihilating Twelve-in-One!
We long to die, for when we end,
Our larger life has but begun.*²⁵¹

With the third passing of *soma*, the formula I drink to the imminence of His Coming is repeated and the Third Solidarity Hymn is sung:

“Feel how the Greater Being comes!

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.80

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.81

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.81

Rejoice and, in rejoicings, die!
Melt in the music of the drums!
*For I am you and you are I*²⁵².

In the World State private activities are disapproved, and people are oriented towards group activities; yet and there is even nothing to do in private apart from going to bed and as Lenina thinks one couldn't do that all the time.

As in *We* and *1984*, in *Brave New World*, individualism is considered as the most dangerous crime and a mental disease. Indeed, it is a rare thing in the World State that someone becomes aware of his individuality. Throughout the book, except from the Savage who comes from the Reservation, we see only two people feeling their individualities: Bernard Marx and Watson. Bernard feels himself as an individual because he is physically different than his class-equals, and Helmholtz becomes aware of his difference from the people surrounding him because of his mental excess. Of course, this fact is noticed by the authorities and they are first threatened with and then sent to a distant region, where they would not be able to give harm to the harmony of the society.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p.82

VI.4. Each man the image of every other

THE YEAR WAS 2081, and everybody was finally equal. They weren't only equal before the God and the law. They were equal every which way. Nobody was smarter than anybody else. Nobody was better looking than anybody else. Nobody was stronger or quicker than anybody else. All this equality was due to the 211th, 212th, and 213th Amendments to the Constitution, and to the unceasing vigilance of agents of the United States Handicapper General.²⁵³

The passage above is from Kurt Vonnegut's story Harrison Bergeron who tells the story of a society in which people are handicapped on purpose, to maintain equality among people. This story, in fact, can be seen as the ultimate form of the effort to make people equal, which is also the main objective in the society of *Fahrenheit 451*.

There, everyone is tried to be made equal at least intellectually mainly by two methods; first, by destroying books, and second, by training people only physically in the schools.

With school turning out more runners, jumpers, racers, tinkerers, grabbers, snatchers, fliers, and swimmers instead of examiners, critics, knowers, and imaginative creators, the word intellectual, of course, became the swear word it deserved to be.²⁵⁴

Beatty, explains to Montag that the unfamiliar always irritates people. For example, in the school, it is always the bright boys who are beaten and tortured

²⁵³ Kurt Vonnegut, Harrison Bergeron, <http://instruct.westvalley.edu/lafave/hb.html>, p.1

²⁵⁴ Bradbury, p.65

after hours. So, there, this bright boy is annihilated for ever; everyone made equal and happy.

We must all be alike. Not everyone born free and equal, as the Constitution says, but everyone made equal. Each man the image of every other; then all are happy, for there are no mountains to make them cower, to judge themselves against.²⁵⁵

As can be understood from the passage above, equality means at the same time the suppression of individuality. In this sense, though, not as much as it is in the story *Harrison Bergeron*, in the society of *Fahrenheit 451*, people are also tried to be made not only equal, but also identical.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.65

Conclusion

In this work we have tried to analyze the functioning of the repressive and non-repressive state apparatuses in four 20th century dystopian novels *We*, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, *Brave New World* and *Fahrenheit 451*.

We have seen that especially in *We* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and in a more moderate way in *Fahrenheit 451*, the state functioned massively and predominantly by force. There, people are kept under constant surveillance and all unorthodox behaviors are punished by death. However, in *Brave New World* there is no need to recourse to force since people are conditioned thoroughly according to the norms and needs of the system beginning even before birth and any unorthodox behavior is eliminated from before.

However, what is common in all books is the control and administration of all aspects of life including sex. There, people's daily hours are strictly planned by the state, leaving no time to think – which is in fact the main purpose. In addition to that, the way and the things people are allowed to think are already defined and manipulated by the state via certain institutions and media.

Regarding all we have said above, to conclude, we can say that the states, how much oppressive they may they be, need to use non-repressive apparatuses, –ISAs as Althusser calls or dispositifs as Foucault calls, functioning according to values and norms of the system- in order to constitute individuals as subjects to make them act in conformity with the existing system and to maintain its stability

and

continuity.

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